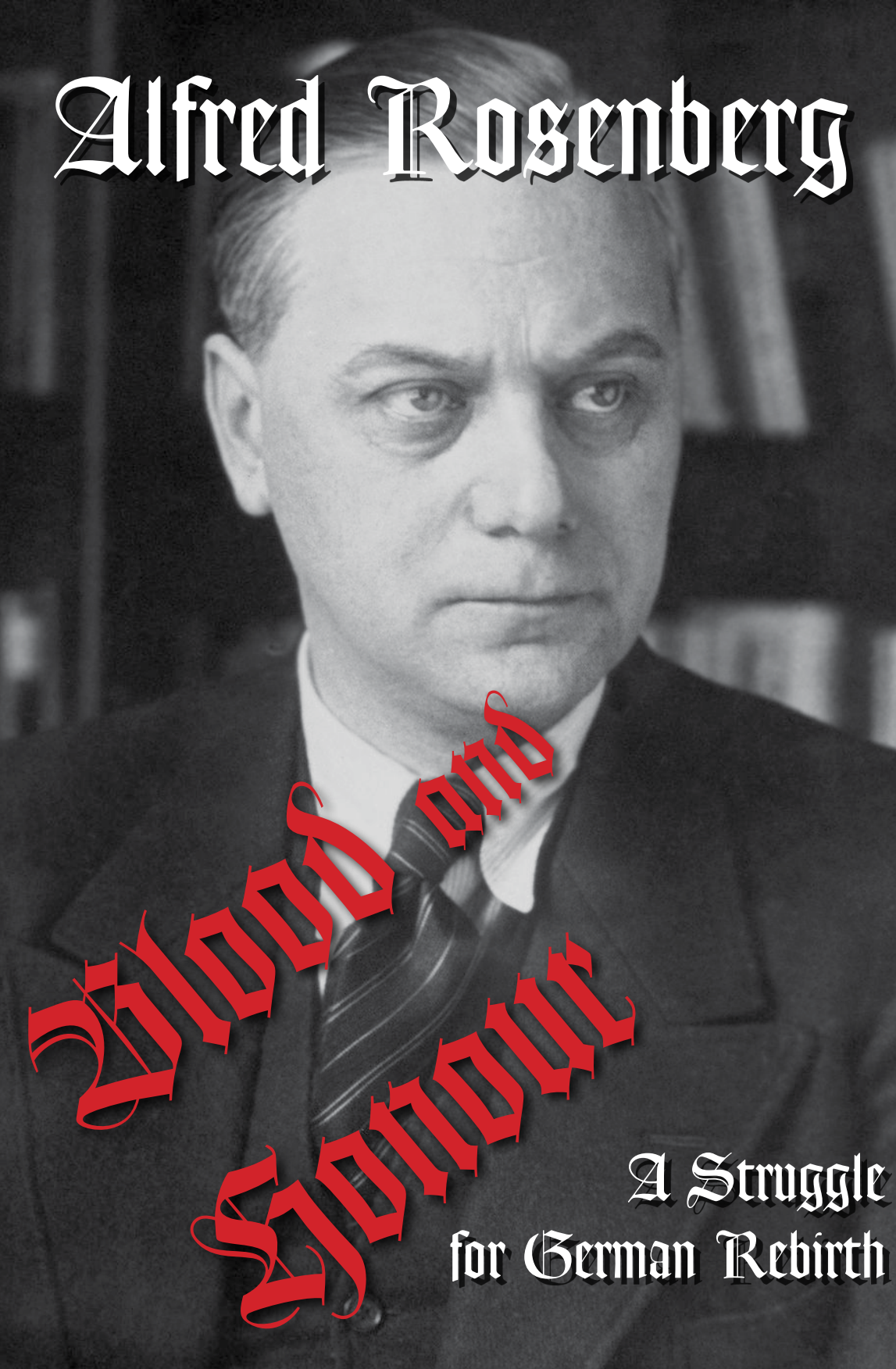


A black and white portrait of Alfred Rosenberg, a man with light-colored hair, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and a striped tie. He is looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. The background is slightly blurred, showing what appears to be a bookshelf.

# Alfred Rosenberg

**Blood and  
Honour**

A Struggle  
for German Rebirth

**Blood and Honor: A Struggle for German Rebirth  
Speeches and Essays from 1919-1933**

**by Alfred Rosenberg  
Edited by Thilo von Trotha**



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## Forward

Born on January 12th, 1893, in Reval, Alfred Rosenberg, as a Baltic German, endured all the hardships of life as a German living abroad—including the Russian Revolution.

To inform Germany about these events and help protect it from communism, he went to Germany in late 1918, met Adolf Hitler in Munich through Dietrich Eckart, and joined him in 1919; then, in 1921, he took over the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and he marched alongside the Führer in Coburg in 1922 and at the Feldherrnhalle in 1923.

After November 9th, 1923, he tried to keep the remnants of the movement together, and when the Führer returned from Landsberg Fortress, Rosenberg once again took over the leadership of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which he subsequently expanded more and more until, after the victory, it became Germany's largest newspaper.

In 1924, he founded the magazine *Der Weltkampf*, and when the demand for an official NSDAP magazine grew stronger in 1930, he created the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*.

In 1929, he founded the “Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1930, Rosenberg became a member of the Reichstag and his faction's representative for foreign policy issues: since he had delved deeper and deeper into foreign policy issues through his travels and work, thereby laying out new foundations in this field, he was appointed by Adolf Hitler in April 1933 as head of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office and, shortly thereafter, as Reichsleiter.

In a certain sense, Alfred Rosenberg is the father of National Socialist literature, for as early as 1919–20, he had published several writings on Bolshevism, Freemasonry, and the Jewish question, and had made the fight against supranational powers one of his primary missions.

As a domestic political activist, he is best known for his far too little-noticed book “Dreißig Novemberköpfe” (*Thirty November Heads*), which appeared in 1927; on a similar level was his polemic “Der Sumpf” (*The Swamp*), published in 1930, one of the most valuable documents in the struggle against the cultural decline of the postwar years.

As early as 1922, he had published “Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der NSDAP” (*The Nature, Principles, and Goals of the NSDAP*)<sup>2</sup>, the movement's very first treatise! Then, in “Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Außenpolitik” (*The Future Path of German Foreign Policy*) and “Das Wesensgefüge des Nationalsozialismus” (*The Essential Structure of National Socialism*)<sup>3</sup>, he later provided the movement with two of its most fundamental works.

His magnum opus, however, is *The Myth of the 20th Century*, which saw a massive print run, particularly in 1933, and about which Hanns Johst<sup>4</sup> wrote:

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<sup>1</sup> The Militant League of German Culture, which sought to influence German culture from a National Socialist perspective; its activities included boycotts, propaganda, and the promotion of National Socialist artists and authors. - The Translator

<sup>2</sup> Which can be read in English here: <https://archive.org/details/essence-principles-and-goals-of-the-nsdap> - The Translator

<sup>3</sup> Which can be read in English here: <https://archive.org/details/the-essential-structure-of-national-socialism> - The Translator

<sup>4</sup> Hanns Johst was a prominent National Socialist author and playwright. - The Translator

*“I am often asked about the foundations of National Socialism: here is the work in which an epic struggle is waged to solidify these foundations.”*

It would, however, not be in keeping with Alfred Rosenberg’s unpretentious nature to provide a lengthy enumeration of his achievements here, for in times of men, the deeds of men speak for themselves - therefore, just a few very brief highlights of the work of this man, who not only loves Kant’s categorical imperative but also lives by it:

Some time ago, Rosenberg was scheduled to speak in a certain city in Germany, and the local group leader, himself a veteran fighter in the movement, said in his introduction:

*“Rosenberg’s editorials in the ‘Völkischer Beobachter’ during the ban on Adolf Hitler’s speeches from 1925 to 1927 had been, for him at the time, the only enduring, living link to Munich.”*

On the occasion of Rosenberg’s appointment as head of the Foreign Policy Office, the *NS.-Funk* wrote:

*“Everything he touched was further deepened by him, and so it was he who created the National Socialist movement’s intellectual foundations, substantiated down to the smallest detail.”*

And it strikes us, finally, as symbolic that the words “Blood and Honor” are engraved on the blade of the dagger carried by every Hitler Youth member—a concept that Alfred Rosenberg once coined and later placed at the center of his *Myth*.

As these lines are being written, Adolf Hitler is in Munich, and Alfred Rosenberg is with him as well. It is November 9th, and 15 years have passed since the first<sup>5</sup>, and 10 years since the second<sup>6</sup>, blackest days in German history of the last generation - thus, in Munich, the old fighters of the movement are now gathering to commemorate the victory and the dead together, and this book has been compiled above all for the sake of these veteran fighters of the Party and the SA.

Especially today, when—for commercial reasons—writings by people who never actually took part in the real struggle for Germany’s rebirth are springing up in droves, it was necessary to publish a work that can convey a truly authentic picture of the great struggle for Germany.

Thanks to the versatility of Alfred Rosenberg’s talents—in which, as through a prism, almost all the events and problems of the time are reflected—it was possible to select the essays and speeches in such a way that they simultaneously sketch, in brief outline, a picture of their author’s personality and the path of our movement.

And so this book is presented to the public: may it be, to the movement’s veteran fighters, a memorial, and to the young and those yet to come a legacy of the early years of the struggle for Germany’s rebirth.

- **Berlin, November 9th, 1933**  
**Thilo von Trotha**

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<sup>5</sup> November 11th, 1918, the end of the First World War. - The Translator

<sup>6</sup> November 9th, 1923, the beginning and eventual end of the Beer Hall Putsch. - The Translator

## Germany's Führer

### Alfred Rosenberg in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on the Führer's 34th birthday, April 20th, 1923

Adolf Hitler celebrates his 34th birthday: free from any trace of Byzantine intrigue, hundreds of thousands can now express their gratitude to him on this day for what he has given them, along with what he has already done for the people.

In the midst of a humiliating national breakdown, he emerged—without money or possessions, without a name—a simple soldier, yet he still felt the shame of his people's downfall and possessed the iron will to one day wash it away.

Only today can one appreciate what it meant to fight alone against the whole world—what faith and passion were required to set his sights, without help, on the greatest and most seemingly impossible goal.

Anyone who has had the opportunity to follow Adolf Hitler's work knows how, month by month, he has grown more mature, more imposing, and more captivating: his fire spread from him to his listeners and, after the collapse of all previous ideas, it has planted a strong faith in their hearts once again: multitudes of desperate people have found a new foundation for their lives, and men who were looking for a leader of the German people have now turned their eyes with ever-greater anticipation toward the man in Munich.

Now that mysterious interplay between leader and followers has begun to take shape—one that has since become so characteristic of the German freedom movement: that all those searching and striving for national honor, for a new conception of the state—emanating from the hearts of many thousands—is completely embodied in a single personality.

This very aspect has been criticized and interpreted as a weakness of the movement - however, let us consider this:

The Seven Years' War would never have been fought had it not been for the two great eyes of Frederick the Great watching over Prussia, and similarly, the Reich of 1870–71 would not have come into being without Bismarck's iron will.

Germany's liberation, too, will be carried out by only a very few, and the guiding, life-giving current will, in the end, flow from only one heart.

And we all know in whose breast it beats, for we can already say today that the name Hitler has taken on a mystical resonance, and not just for us alone.

Under this name, the German people will one day be separated into the wheat and the chaff; this name is already spreading throughout the world as a symbol, and it is hated and loved, as is everything great.

Germany's honor, social justice, and the freedom of the entire German people are the guiding principles of the man who, after inevitable, arduous struggles, will forge a national Germany: this belief lives within us National Socialists, and will not be shaken by anything.

It shall also further strengthen our Führer, for the struggle is desperate, and it can only be waged with the utmost willingness to make sacrifices.

We all extend our congratulations to Adolf Hitler and believe that the Germany of the future will repay him with the gratitude he deserves.

The times ahead will be trying: thus, stand by your Führer, German men and women!  
Victory will be ours, for at the forefront of the German will to live stands—one man.

## **Against the Old System**

*“An era has now come to an end, and it did not pass away amid the flashes of truly great battles, but rather crumbled away, rotten and unable to resist: now, following this collapse, the new German life is striding over the past.”*

- Alfred Rosenberg in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 7th, 1933

## Contemporary Jewish Issues

From *Aus gut Deutsch*<sup>7</sup>, October 23rd, 1919

Although the essence of the Jewish spirit has remained unchanged throughout the centuries, various cultural currents among the peoples of Europe have exerted some influence on the manner in which it is expressed.

In his work “Die Juden der Gegenwart” (*The Jews of the Present*), Dr. Artur Ruppin made an exceedingly accurate observation that lays bare the core of the entire debate regarding the nature of the Jewish spirit’s impact - he says:

*“From the very beginning, Jewish Orthodoxy was much less a religion than a militant organization, cloaked in religious garb, dedicated to the preservation of the Jewish people.”*

Every Jewish association must be viewed from this perspective.

Although Talmudic Judaism was a structure as solid as almost any other, the passage of time had nevertheless forced certain elements out of its framework; these separated elements have now founded militant organizations of a different kind, or have managed to transform other associations into shock troops of Jewish world power for their own purposes: the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Freemasons, the International, the Anglo-Jewish Association, Liberal Judaism, and Zionism.

The first couple of associations have already been discussed in many places in this journal - now, here are a few words about Liberal Judaism:

It was formed to reunite those who were unfaithful to Talmudic Judaism under a religious banner of a different kind; to lend greater authority to these efforts, it was presented as a renewal of the ancient prophetic attempts at reform.

What began as a small community has now grown into an organization spread throughout Germany: the focus of this association, however, lies less on the concept of “liberal” than on the concept of “Judaism.” One of the current spiritual leaders of this movement is Rabbi Dr. Cäsar Seligmann of Frankfurt am Main - on the occasion of a planned All-Jewish German Congress, he wrote in the journal *Liberales Judentum* (Nos. 5 and 6):

*“But if you come together at the congress, be careful not to appear to be making a grand declaration. A Jewish congress cannot be held merely by rejecting Zionism and declaring that you are not a national Jewish people, but Germans as a nation: a commitment to the German nation at a Jewish congress smacks all too much of a loyalty mentality, a remnant of the old ‘protected Jew’ mentality, and bears a striking resemblance to the pseudo-liberalism of bygone times, which Gabriel Riesser<sup>8</sup> castigates with such bitter words—a liberalism that sacrificed religious values for political gain, that reformed not out of inner, religious necessity but for the sake of external standing within the state.*

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<sup>7</sup> A journal founded by German poet Dietrich Eckart in 1918 and featuring contributions from Alfred Rosenberg and Gottfried Feder. - The Translator

<sup>8</sup> Riesser was the first Jewish judge in Germany and was vice-president of the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1841. - The Translator

*Zionism is fully justified in its scorn and fury against such 'ghetto Judaism' - thus, it cannot and must not be the task of a Jewish congress to assure Germany of its loyalty.  
Incidentally—those who offer too many assurances seem to be the least certain of their cause."*

These words are quite clear, after all: there is nothing worse for Dr. Seligmann than assuring Germany of his loyalty; at least it is honest and therefore more pleasant to read than the publications of German citizens of the Jewish faith.

On October 13th, the Association of Liberal Jews of Munich held a closed meeting to discuss the measures to be taken in preparation for the coming "inevitable struggle" against antisemitism; Dr. Seligmann and Attorney Stern, the secretary-general of Liberal Judaism, had been invited to speak. Dr. Seligmann delivered a very beautiful speech, comparing Judaism to the castle from "Des Sängers Fluch" (*The Minstrel's Curse*)<sup>9</sup>, which looks out so proudly and majestically over the land all the way to the blue sea and is surrounded by fragrant flowers and gardens.

The castle, built of granite blocks, is the house erected by our forefathers, as we see it embodied before us in the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch—with solid foundations, its "wonderful moral teachings," its "humanity, loyalty, and sense of duty," "sense of duty," and its message of "brotherhood among people and reconciliation among nations."

But the river on which the castle stood has changed its course, and now flows directly beneath the foundations: the choice, then, is either to leave everything as it is—and, in the worst case, be buried under the rubble—to move out, or to tear it down and build a new house from the existing materials.

The first option is favored by the Orthodox, the second by the assimilators—who, according to Seligmann, "have crawled to the cross or the crescent moon"—and the last by the Liberal Jews, because it is the most practical; this was followed by some flowery rhetoric about the revival of the "golden prophet's crown and the purple prophet's cloak".

One would have liked to grant the speaker every good intention, but the catch was inevitable and turned the beautiful words into hypocrisy: for, the rabbi said, if the Jews were to unite, then the old saying would come true—that a time would come when the best men of all nations would cling to the hem of the Jews' garments and beg them, "Lead us!" - so, the crux of the matter was quite obvious here as well.

During the intermission, a man walking around urged everyone to join the association for "a modest fee", and in the ensuing discussion, the second speaker proudly reported that liberal Judaism had brought many strays back into the fold of Judaism, elaborated on the idea of youth organizations, and concluded emphatically that Jewish Liberalism was not merely one worldview among others, but the worldview par excellence - unfortunately, however, he did not reveal to the public what the executive board had secretly decided in order to wage the fight against antisemitism.

We thus see Liberal Judaism standing just as united and organized throughout all of Germany in opposition to German nationalism, albeit in a different form than the other Jewish activist organizations.

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<sup>9</sup> A famous play written by German poet Ludwig Uhland in 1814: two minstrels, one old and one young, sing about youth and beauty at a king's castle, which angers the king, leading to the young minstrel being executed; the old minstrel takes the young man's body outside before cursing the castle and king to irrelevance, leading to the castle falling into the sea and the king being forgotten. - The Translator

Voltaire said that the Jews, filled with the most indomitable hatred toward all nations, are “crawling in misfortune and insolent in prosperity” - this statement, which applies to the entire history of the Jewish people, remains perfectly true today.

*“In the long run, it cannot satisfy the national self-consciousness of the Jews to be nothing but a minority everywhere.”*

This was said by Lohen (Reuß), who is otherwise a staunch internationalist when it comes to German politics (“Die politische Bedeutung des Zionismus” [*The Political Significance of Zionism*]).

David Trietsch<sup>10</sup> sees in the large proportion of Jews in the revolution:

*“...an unbridled intellectual force that would manifest itself even more strongly if the deep-rooted prejudice of the masses did not prevent the Jews from engaging in free political activity.”*

Thus, the Jewish community as it has existed so far is still far too small.

This same gentleman is very proud of the situation in Russia:

*“Even if the development of post-Tsarist Russia to date has been a misguided one, the observer will still be unable to deny the fact that without the Jewish minds who have placed themselves at the service of the revolution, the chaos would be far worse.*

*In Russia, Jewish leaders have come to the helm by virtue of their superior intellectual capacity, and thanks to their ability to see a way forward, while the best among the others are still far from having overcome the confusion of the upheaval.”*

- **“Palästina und die Juden” (*Palestine and the Jews*)**

These few voices are still relatively mild, but they are significant in that they come from members of the “German Committee for the Promotion of Jewish Settlement in Palestine.”

The newspaper *Jüdische Rundschau*, however, strikes a note that cannot be ignored.

First, it is stated that Zionism was born “from the spirit of the idea”, and has nothing in common with German nationalism, which sees its ideal in “submarines, gas shells, etc” - the vilification of the overthrown government is transformed in Issue No. 70 into a pamphlet against the Germans in general. Germany, it is claimed, is to blame for the plight of the Jews in Poland:

*“The same German administration that, upon its invasion of Poland, presented itself to the Jews as a liberator, and later abandoned them entirely to the Poles politically, did everything in its power to prevent the national unification of the Jews, and—through utterly malicious interference in their internal affairs—fostered all efforts to undermine Polish Jewry, and exploited and ruined them economically in a manner that is unparalleled in history.”*

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<sup>10</sup> Zionist leader and author. - The Translator

*“Through their unscrupulous greed for plunder, German officials have so shaken all moral concepts there that even the most extensive reparations would not suffice to restore the reputation of the German name among Polish Jews.”*

*“In the Rhineland, the most German of Germans are selling Germany’s future every day and every hour - for the police, however, it is naturally more convenient to arrest the few Galician and Polish Jews who—not in the least thanks to the insane regulations of the Demobilization Office, which all social policymakers find downright unbelievable—are, so to speak, forced to seek their livelihood through the black-market trade...”*

Jews immigrating from the East were successfully integrated into agriculture, mining operations, etc.

*“Whatever the war—which did not spring from a Jewish spirit—may have made of some of the poor, hounded masses, let us be permitted to say that today, more than ever, Germany has reason not to close its doors to the morality, piety, and connection to the Infinite that still live on in this Eastern Judaism.”*

So, the German has robbed the Jew and corrupted his moral sensibility; the most “German” of Germans is the greatest profiteer; the poor Jew is forced into black-market trading, whether he wants to or not, and the German must look to the Jews of the East for morality and piety in their outlook on life...

Let us continue: in No. 72, on the subject of emigration, the groundwork is laid for a pan-Jewish congress - it then states:

*“The people should be called upon to decide on their emigration and to place at its helm the bodies in which they place their trust; the issues that determine Jewish emigration should then be resolved exclusively in accordance with the interests of the Jewish people.  
If the people stand behind the solution, then the Jews will also have the power and influence to carry out a sound solution...”*

*“If all our resources are concentrated—our political capabilities, our financial influence, our intellectual, moral, and economic abilities—if everything is brought together and made to serve a single purpose, then we can not only open doors to immigration that are closed today, but we can also close doors to emigration that are being opened with an all-too-welcoming gesture.  
It is not enough to seek out countries that will let Jews in: we must also ensure that expelling Jews does not become a laughingstock.”*

Finally, it is emphasized that there can be only a unified Jewish world policy, because otherwise “the driving force of the Jewish will” would be broken.

Once again, we see the cynical scorn laid bare: the Jews in Germany speak as if there were no longer a German Reich to be reckoned with in any way, and only “exclusively” Jewish interests are decisive, for if anyone else were to wish to accelerate the emigration of the chosen people, the Jews would see to it that this insolent interference in Jewish affairs ceases immediately.

For months now, Jewish newspapers have been filled with a ceaseless stream of complaints about the pogroms against Jews in Poland, Ukraine, Galicia, and Hungary.

Horrific tales are being told: innocent Jews are being driven from their homes and farms, murdered after being subjected to terrible torture; women and little girls are being raped, killed, thrown into water closets (!), and so on - the number of victims in Ukraine is said to be 35,000.

Polish newspapers and politicians, however, have a very different story to tell: for example, a major pogrom against Jews is said to have taken place in Krakow, which is why a wave of complaints swept through all the Jewish newspapers; however, in the Polish National Assembly, Representative Brüll stated:

*“Had I not been a witness to the events in Kraków, I would indeed have believed that a pogrom had taken place there - now, however, I must conclude that pogroms did indeed take place in Kraków—not against the Jewish population, but against the Polish population: all the wounded are Polish soldiers, because the Jewish Bolsheviks did not allow the gangs that stirred up the unrest to be disarmed.*

*A certain Goldberg, who held Czech and German passports, was arrested; it was an organized gang whose mission was, on the one hand, to stir up Bolshevik unrest in Poland and, on the other hand, to disgrace Poland’s name in Paris.*

*In Mechow, Jews murdered a Pole and desecrated his corpse, yet no one speaks out against this murder; in Krakow, however, not a single Jew was killed, and people are already claiming that a pogrom took place there.”*

Thus, accusations were pitted against one another.

To shed light on all this bickering, Hirsch Morgentau was appointed to head the investigative commission: this American Jew then traveled throughout the country, but was unable to pin as much blame on the Poles as the Jews had hoped, and so his reports were fairly neutral; this sparked cries of outrage from the entire Jewish community, and the result was that a more hard-line figure, Mr. Samuel from London, will once again examine all the complaints.

Once again, an old pattern is repeating itself: whenever a people grows fed up with Jewish exploitation and riots break out, terrible reports of pogroms against Jews—purely fabricated out of thin air—appear in newspapers around the world.

A classic example of this is the situation in Romania during the second half of the last century: unhindered by any entry restrictions, the Jews had literally flooded that country, and through usury of the worst kind and a booming spirits trade, the uneducated and harmless population had fallen into complete dependence.

All attempts to curb Jewish unscrupulousness legally and vigorously failed due to the opposition of the great powers, under the influence of the Alliance Israélite - in a letter to Karl of Romania, his father refers to the Jewish affairs as a “noli me tangere,”<sup>11</sup> laments the power of Jewish finance, but resignedly states that nothing can be done about it.

When some Romanian authorities began to take more vigorous action against Jewish merchants, and the people began to grow restless, cries of protest rang out in the Jewish press, and a flood of lies poured onto the patient pages of the newspaper - for example, a dispatch from a Jewish banker to the American consul

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<sup>11</sup> A Latin phrase meaning literally, “do not touch me”; he is referring to the situation as untouchable. - The Translator

(1876) claimed that in one town, thousands of Jews had been robbed of their possessions and forced to leave the country; meanwhile, an investigation found that a few fraudulent Jews had been rounded up, and three of them had been beaten.

From Vasliu, Jews appealed to all consulates for financial aid, claiming that the Romanians had inhumanely driven the entire local Jewish community—740 people—from their homes in the middle of winter; once again, there was great uproar, yet the investigation revealed (with a Jewish member of parliament present) that 25 Jews had engaged in illegal trade and operated unlicensed liquor stands, that their beverages had been confiscated, and that the 25 Jews had been expelled from the village: that was all.

On another occasion, the residents of Jassy were very surprised to see a large illustration in *Le Monde Illustré* that depicted a pogrom against Jews there: this matter, like many others, turned out to be an attempt by Jews to rally French public opinion in favor of the poor Jews.

Just as completely fabricated were the complaints in the *Neue Freie Presse* (May 1877) about vile anti-Jewish agitation and a large number of other fabrications.

For years, there was a clamor about the persecution of Jews, yet only two Jews were killed—and even those were killed by two Turks as they were being deported to Turkey.

Religious motives, about which there was—and still is—much clamor, were never the cause of any unrest: during the course of 20 years (1859–1879), this so-called “anti-Jewish agitation” consisted of the seizure of a number of clandestine distilleries and the deportation of their owners (see Verax: “La Roumanie et les Juifs” [*Romania and the Jews*], Bucharest 1903, pgs. 150–160)

The Jewish newspapers are now calling on all “honest men” to take a stand against the “pogrom agitation” that is allegedly being stirred up by antisemites in Germany - but what is the truth of the matter?

All leading antisemitic newspapers have unequivocally asserted that they abhor any pogrom, yet they have just as unequivocally demanded that, at this critical moment in the German people’s national destiny, German men should take the lead; despite this, not a day goes by without a new Jewish figure being appointed to an influential post.

All demands that they not push themselves forward and that they curb their lust for power have rolled off the Jews like water off a rubber coat; meanwhile, all the German cries of despair are threatened to fade away.

Once again, it is as it was in earlier times: back then, Jews sat at court as finance ministers and tax collectors, and all cries for usury laws from the people and the estates were stifled by Jewish money.

If one approaches the entire complex of historical events concerning the Jews and their relationship to other peoples without resorting to the hackneyed dogma of tear-stained sentimentality, one thing might be clear from the outset: if the outcomes in the behavior of all peoples toward the Jewish people are the same, this can—at least in the main—only be due to the character of the Jewish people themselves, for while the particular circumstances of the history concerning the Jews vary, the personality of the Jew, on the other hand, is the uniform factor—one that is, moreover, enhanced by strict racial selection and is unchanging.

Many historians, thrown off historical balance by actual acts of inhumanity committed against the Jews, all too easily mistake a purely human condemnation for a historical judgment: one must recognize this

skewed perspective—which does credit to humanity but diminishes the historian—in order to see through the sentimentality and grasp history in its deeper necessities.

Once this has been done, and if one relies primarily on accounts that are sympathetic to the Jews—or at least not antisemitic from the outset—so as not to let one's perspective be clouded by the other side, a strikingly similar trajectory of Jewish life, Jewish activity, and Jewish suffering in all countries of the world comes into view: everywhere they are initially accepted without reservation; everywhere we see the Jews deliberately isolating themselves from the native population from the outset, both physically and mentally, and everywhere they are eager to win the favor of the princes, using the money acquired through zealous trade and usury to finance their ventures, thereby securing their protection and thus swindling their way to privileges of every kind.

Then, among all peoples—first flaring up in a few places—anti-Jewish movements emerge, sometimes sweeping across an entire country and erupting in terrible fury: the causes of these major persecutions of the Jews have been varied, but if, in any context, historical analysis must focus on the social fabric in order to uncover not merely occasions but the underlying causes of shattering events, this is particularly true when considering the Jewish question in all countries.

Admittedly, political and cultural conditions—and especially ecclesiastical ones—have been significant; they sometimes came to the fore, as, for example, during the Inquisition, but they constitute only the more readily recognizable factors; meanwhile, issues of an economic nature have always gone hand in hand with them.

Although the Jewish question is of the utmost importance in many respects today, it is nonetheless rooted in the social position of the Jews in the modern world.

Without the immeasurable wealth at their disposal, it would not be possible to steer world politics and make statesmen of all nations act as puppets of the Jewish will; it would not be possible to instill the poison of spiritual degradation and conflict with their own nature into the hearts of Europeans and to maintain a favorable disposition toward Judaism were it not for the power of almighty gold, which is systematically managed and which hires its accomplices in every country.

Just as it is today, where oppressive banking capital holds all peoples in its grip through interest, so it was the situation—albeit on a smaller scale—in Spain and France, in Germany, and in many other states: everywhere, the Jew was the usurer of the princes, the clergy, and the people, and the persecutions of the Jews—let this be stated here in advance—are thus primarily a repeatedly renewed attempt to break the yoke of usury, all the more so because it stemmed from an invader who was racially alien and hostile in both religion and morality.

The task of German antisemites should be to provide a legal solution to this cruel necessity—which will inevitably arise once Jewish insatiability has reached an unparalleled peak in its domination of the German people—by demanding that Jews be removed from all government offices by law; in the worst-case scenario, a national referendum must decide the matter, but if even this is thwarted and prevented, then what has repeated itself with inescapable inevitability throughout the centuries must occur: the persecution of the Jews.

Once all voices of warning calling for the protection of the Christian and German essence have been exhausted to the best of their knowledge and ability, then an uprising against foreign rule is no longer a hate-filled pogrom, but a sign that the soul of a people has not yet decayed - says Goethe:

*“You must not tolerate what disturbs you within.”*

Christ drove the money changers out of the temple with a scourge, and the German, too, will have to defend with the scourge—if necessary—the best he has, that which his spirit and his history have bequeathed to him as a trust to be stewarded.

After a long, long time, the German Reich must once again become Germany, and not a playground for an unbridled Jewish lust for power.

## **“What Has Historically Become to Be”**

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 6th, 1926 - these remarks hold particular appeal today, especially in light of the work being done on Reich reform.**

At present, the struggle between centralism and federalism has flared up anew: the Bavarian proposal—which has not yet been published—to amend the Reich Constitution in a “federalist spirit,” along with the Reich government’s response, is reportedly set to be made public.

As is well known, the so-called Bavarian People’s Party, in its struggle against a German centralist principle, uses the phrase that one must not “shatter what has historically come to be.”

This view contains both truth and falsehood: it is false insofar as the Bavarian People’s Party understands “what has historically come to be”—which it wishes to protect—to mean only the State of Bavaria, within which it refuses to recognize any changes of a state nature; at the same time, however, it is true that it strives to smash “what has historically come to be” in Prussia, for example, whenever possible, and to strengthen the disruptive elements—of whatever kind—in Prussia, hence its support for the German-Hanoverians and the Silesian autonomists, as well as its flirtation with certain separatist aspirations in the West.

Fundamentally, in response to the call that one must not destroy what has historically come to be, it must be said: such a position, taken as a matter of principle, would mean that its proponent is aware of his own inner incapacity, and that he is convinced he himself possesses no history-shaping power whatsoever, for a person or a popular movement that is genuine and strong is itself history and power, and therefore also shapes history.

What is referred to as “historically established” is often nothing more than a fossilized schema that the beneficiaries of the ruling order still hold up to the people as an idol: for example, today’s federal states are not organically bound in any way, but have been cobbled together purely as dynastic-political spheres of power.

It is clear to every National Socialist that neither Marxist unitarianism nor the Bavarian People’s Party’s brand of federalism represents anything that ought to be particularly respected as “historically established”, for what shapes history are race, the people, the tribe, and—as a consequence—a certain cultural unity of individual regions, supplemented by economic circumstances tied to the characteristics of the land: the goal is not to preserve the forms of the past, but to concentrate the power of blood and the power of will—both of the individual and of all German tribes—toward a united, strong, and great Germany.

When we declare today that neither the form of a republic nor that of a monarchy should lead us into a fundamental struggle, this also applies to the conflict between federalism and centralism: a Germany governed by a tightly centralized authority would certainly have the sympathy of all Germans on its side if the central government were truly guided by impeccable national and social principles, but today’s form of unitarianism, abused by Marxist and liberal politicians, will only increase discontent throughout Germany; meanwhile, while a federalism in Germany in the spirit of Bismarck would appeal to many, a sort of “federalism” in the spirit of the so-called Bavarian People’s Party would no longer be Germany at all.

We have respect only for the fundamental substance of race, people, and state; we must not feel such respect for arbitrary dynastic traditions that we argue over as if they were eternal values.

The dynasties have given Germany its patchwork appearance, and the elimination of even the smallest rivalries is the only positive development of our time: there is no reason for a National Socialist Germany to perpetuate the large number of little thrones or state presidents and prime ministers, quite apart from the fact that the thousands of useless parliamentarians place a pointless burden on the state budget of every state.

The man of the future, who will one day shape the new Germany, will adhere neither to unitarian nor to federalist dogma, but will do whatever seems expedient to lead the German people and the German state outwardly as a united, strong body governed uniformly in the German spirit, while internally allowing it to retain all cultural peculiarities rooted in tribal traditions; he will, quite naturally, find the organic solution between federalism and unitarism, but this solution will not follow the line of Mr. Severing<sup>12</sup>, nor will it follow the line of the so-called Bavarian People's Party.

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<sup>12</sup> Carl Severing, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. - The Translator

## The Betrayal of the German Working Class

**From *Der Weltkampf*, December 1926 - in this essay, the socialist Alfred Rosenberg makes his strongest declaration of faith.**

After 1871, the patriarchal state began to crumble; money and machinery increasingly took the reins; bankers and industrial magnates supplanted generals and diplomats, and enormous misery crept through the coal mines and ironworks...

In Germany, discontent with this state of affairs began to emerge from two quarters: on the part of the Prussian military nobility, and on the part of the exploited masses numbering in the millions.

The first opposition was incapable of genuine revolt because it was bound by traditional constraints, for although it criticized the actions of the state and the monarch, it remained loyally devoted to the monarchy itself; moreover, it fought for the rights of the past, and that robbed it of any energy for the future.

The other opposition, however, had nothing to lose but everything to gain, for social democracy drew together those who were dissatisfied not only with industrialization, but with the entire status quo - thus, writers, artists, critics, and people from the highest social circles who wanted to cast off the burden of a stifling, formulaic way of life joined together with people who wanted to devote their entire being to working for the suffering masses.

With moving devotion, millions followed those who had set themselves up as leaders: they sacrificed the last of their money, sacrificed their health, collapsed under the misery of the strike, and fell under the military's gunfire - now, today, the descendants of those very same millions are faced with the shattering but undeniable fact that the immense sacrifices of their fathers and mothers—and their own decades-long dedication—have been in vain.

The honest and magnanimous figures from the golden age of social democracy have long since passed away, and in their place have stepped in wealthy lawyers, Eastern European Jewish editors, common wheeler-dealers, and loudmouths of every kind.

The moment the long-awaited "victory across the board" finally arrived, this hollow Marxist "state of the future" collapsed, and what today calls itself the Social Democratic workers' leadership is nothing more than a hyena on the battlefield, where millions of workers' corpses and millions of dying people lie, being plundered by them.

By chance, Lily Braun's<sup>13</sup> "*Memoiren einer Sozialistin*" (*Memoirs of a Socialist*) recently fell into my hands, and after I read this book again after many years, I was just as shaken now as I was the first time. A typical person who is inwardly striving upward and thirsting for freedom feels all too keenly the confines of certain aristocratic circles, stumbling painfully at every attempt at independent thought - thus, unsatisfied in his longing for a woman and filled with the deepest compassion for the misery he witnesses, he breaks away from his social circle.

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<sup>13</sup> Lily Braun was a German feminist and social democrat who leaned closer to the revisionist members of the party, not believing in historical materialism and wanting to amend the feminist cause that was split between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. - The Translator

The passion for negation drives him toward social democracy, and step by step—though likely unconsciously on the part of the author—one can trace how an inwardly rich, vivid person becomes increasingly meager and shallow.

This woman, full of poetry and religious fervor, surrenders to American moral tracts and swears by Darwinism and the English enlightenment; this woman, who had followed the great figures of German culture with such love—for whom Germany had been a prerequisite of her life—becomes a supporter of the International, shouts slogans about world peace at rallies, associates with “ideal” and less-than-ideal Jews, and rejects racial barriers - thus, a rich soul is reduced to a stereotype—admittedly, one that still made a sincere effort to serve the recognized cause with all her might, despite failures and rejections—and a sort of paralyzing chill seizes the reader when the author begins to speak as a Marxist.

Lily Braun is a striking example of the fact that even good will cannot improve a cause that runs counter to the people and to life itself - on the contrary: through the magnanimity and self-sacrifice of the noble, what is fundamentally ignoble becomes even stronger, because it diminishes the power of organic resistance.

What would Lily Braun and those like her have thought when Marxism finally triumphed in 1918<sup>14</sup>: would they have come to realize the great deception of their lives—that they had helped to dismantle a good, if outdated, system and overthrow its upholders, in order to enable those wretched figures to seize power, figures who today have quite openly turned social democracy into the pimp of high finance, which exploits nations; would they have realized that, by destroying the German national army, they have shamefully betrayed the very freedom of the German worker?

They will never admit this—no, not even those who once strengthened the Social Democratic struggle with the best of intentions, for such a confession would be tantamount to self-destruction.

The hammer had declared war on the sword, and had allied itself with the moneybag: this was already the case around 1890, when the labor leaders and multimillionaires of the time sent the young women they employed “out on the streets” to avoid paying higher wages; this was already the case back then when Leopold Sonnemann<sup>15</sup> of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* sent August Bebel<sup>16</sup> wine in prison, and was the first to shake his hand when he was released...

But the millions did not notice, for they allowed themselves to be incited against “the Junkers” and “the state,” while the top comrades drank toasts of brotherhood with the major shareholders - thus, in the midst of the German struggle for survival, the unsuspecting, self-sacrificing millions broke the German sword and tore their sense of patriotism from their hearts in the name of a nonexistent international class solidarity; thus, the moneybags triumphed.

Perhaps all this had to happen; perhaps the German people had to suffer this bitter affliction in order to be led onto the right path to self-redemption, for only today is the time ripe for the great state synthesis of the 20th century: the synthesis of nationalism and socialism.

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<sup>14</sup> Lily Braun died in 1916. - The Translator

<sup>15</sup> German-Jewish journalist and editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* during his lifetime (1831-1909); he strongly opposed Bismarck’s policies and founded the German People’s Party in 1868. - The Translator

<sup>16</sup> German politician who founded the Social Democratic Party of Germany; he was imprisoned for high treason in 1872 for opposing the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. - The Translator

Nationalism, purified of the profit interests of heartless economic policymakers, and socialism, purified of the delusion of “internationalism” and suicidal class struggle: no longer is it an alliance between the hammer and the moneybag, but an alliance between the hammer, the mind, and the sword.

The symbol of this alliance is the swastika, and its victory will one day bring about what, forty years ago, forces for good—united in a false front—began to strive for.

Today, however, struggle is the watchword: it is a struggle against the Marxist global plague and the betrayal of the working class; it is a struggle, therefore, also against the traitors to the entire nation!

## The Reichsbanner and the Young German Order

From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, November 25th, 26th, and 28th, 1926

The nationalist ideal has fared much like the Christian one: it used to be identified with the imperial or royal system, but after the revolt, the “sole true guardians” of this ideal pounced on its legacy, and the “German National Party” and the “German People’s Party” were formed.

“Black, White, Red” was the slogan, and millions believed in it, including the nationalist defense associations.

The “bigwigs” of these nationalist parties saw their coffers under threat, and no deal could yet be struck with triumphant Marxism, so they supported the defense associations - but times were changing: high finance, backed by its Marxist guard, established itself as the master and threatened “national” industry and agriculture with a credit freeze; these struggled on for a while, but then the bigwigs were either ousted or had a banker installed to run their operations, until Silverberg’s Dresden speech declared the willingness of “national” industry to make peace with high finance and Marxism.<sup>17</sup>

The consequence of this business acumen on the part of “our” economy was that a portion of the national defense organizations was now increasingly left high and dry; now their “leaders,” of course, grasped the situation rather quickly and cried out, “Into the state!” “Stresemann’s policy is the right one!”

But what do those hundreds of thousands have to say about this, who over the years have risked their necks in the fight against Marxism and Spartacism? A deep sense of bitterness must have gripped these people, for this call, “Into the state!” signaled the collapse of the very leaders in whom these hundreds of thousands had trusted until then.

This cry of distress was proof that the leaders had worked without a plan or a vision: organized, and for what? Only to hand the whole thing over to the politics of Rathenau, Erzberger, and Stresemann! That, at least, is the result.

The national ideal has also been just as abused and compromised by these gentlemen as the Christian ideal has been by the Center Party and its affiliates.

When we now hear of divisions within certain organizations whose leaders want to join the “Barmatokratie”<sup>18</sup> in order to “contribute positively,” the blame for this lies solely with those people, devoid of ideas and lacking in instinct, who have tolerated them as “leaders” until now.

What Marxist propaganda had failed to achieve was accomplished by the leaders of the “Nationalists” themselves; the result is renewed psychological attrition among thousands of the finest German men, and they are therefore spared nothing, absolutely nothing: now they must reexamine the question of national identity and the state from scratch and determine who has fought unceasingly and with unwavering purpose throughout these years.

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<sup>17</sup> Referring to Paul Silverberg’s speech to the Reichsverband, which called for reconciliation between German capital and the Weimar Republic.

Silverberg was a wealthy German-Jew and the leading industrialist in Germany; he owned twenty-five firms. - The Translator

<sup>18</sup> A derogatory term used in the Weimar Republic to refer to being “ruled by Barmats”; this refers to the Barmat scandal of 1925, which saw two Jewish businessmen, Julius and Henry Barmat, being charged with bribing German politicians. - The Translator

Alongside this bankruptcy of political ideas on the part of the “national” parties and associations, however, a completely different danger is emerging: that, thanks to a newly launched propaganda campaign, “nation” and “national identity” are being equated—the November Democracy!

For years, the “Reichsbanner”<sup>19</sup> and Marxism have had nothing but scorn for the national idea, have reviled and defiled all German associations, and have attacked and murdered their members - but now that their “leaders” want to “enter” the state, the “Reichsbanner” and Marxism are striving to gradually introduce the “national idea” into their ranks...

We have had our share of experience, after all: when, in August 1914, these gentlemen were left standing alone and the Reich government had missed every opportunity to render them harmless once and for all, Social Democracy, too, became nationalistic, and it approved war credits and wrote war essays—though only against antisemitic Russia.

That was until worries and hardship set in; then the Marxist water rats crawled out of their hiding places and, in unison, gnawed away at the supporting beams of the German house - November 9th, 1918, saw these gentlemen triumph and prevail “across the board” over the people.

The aftermath then came when high finance taught the Marxist sorcerers to dance to its tune - thus, a great rage grew among the German people, which could not be vented because the “November parties” were supported by stock market capital and its foreign allies.

The NSDAP was banned<sup>20</sup>, the civilian defense militias were disarmed, and wanted posters were issued for a man named Albert Leo Schlageter... only for them to then use immense financial resources to build up the “Reichsbanner”.

Unfortunately, good German men who disliked the old state—and who joined this “nonpartisan” organization solely out of that rejection—also joined the “Reichsbanner”; among them were many former front-line soldiers who were by no means willing to fight solely for the International.

Now the Marxist leadership pulled off the same trick it had used in August 1914: on the one hand—in perfect harmony with the conservatives—it ensured that the only dangerous man who had given the national idea its genuine, new, and forward-looking character, Adolf Hitler, could not speak; in defiance of the law, one speaking ban after another was issued... On the other hand, the term “German people” was also introduced.

At the Reich Banner Day in Nuremberg (September 1926), the SPD’s first chairman stood before his “comrades” and declared:

*“We do not merely pay lip service to the word ‘fatherland.’”*

This man did not prevent Comrade Crispian—who, by his own admission, does not recognize Germany as his fatherland—from standing next to him as second chairman<sup>21</sup>, but for the thousands in Nuremberg, these words from Comrade Wels were a source of comfort, and they went home and said: “Our Wels and his friends are quite good German men—we just heard it ourselves...”

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<sup>19</sup> The “Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold” was an organization that wanted to protect parliamentary democracy; it often fought with the right-wing “Der Stahlhelm” organization, a right-wing paramilitary group, the Marxists, and the National Socialists. - The Translator

<sup>20</sup> The NSDAP was banned in 1924 following the Beer Hall Putsch; this ban was lifted in 1926. - The Translator

<sup>21</sup> Referring to the quote uttered by Arthur Crispian, chairman of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany on January 11th, 1926: “*We do not recognize a homeland called Germany.*” - The Translator

The *Reichsbanner-Zeitung* is also undergoing a shift, and is already publishing memoirs from the Great War, campaign experiences, etc., which likewise show that the parties that systematically betrayed the German front-line soldiers are now courting their favor in order to make people forget this betrayal. However, it must not be forgotten that the friends of the November Democrats in Bern were under the command of the Paris press headquarters; that they and their *Freie Zeitung* were paid, among others, by the Jewish-American stock speculator Otto Hermann Kahn; that the propaganda encouraging desertion was carried out through black-red-gold brochures and leaflets—that is, using the very colors that the “Reichsbanner” has now adopted as its own.

It must not be forgotten that all the promises made by the Center Party, Marxism, and “democracy”—regarding a peace based on mutual understanding, social justice, freedom, proletarian solidarity, and so on—were lies: only peace enforced by violence, the worst possible exploitation of the people, corruption, profiteering, and the oppression of non-Marxist Germans, was and is the true face of the November democracy, which is propped up from the outside by the stock market powers, and which the “Reichsbanner” is called upon to protect.

Then there is one final point: it is not only we and the honest among the communists who see that democracy is rotting from within, for even the November leaders themselves are beginning to realize this. They realize that the attempt to mislead broad sections of the population through a “national” orientation might, after all, fail to prevent their downfall; they know what to expect from the National Socialist side, and from the Communists—despite some sympathies among their leaders—they have nothing good to expect either - that is why the “Reichsbanner” represents the groundwork for a democratic dictatorship. That is why Seeckt<sup>22</sup> had to go! That is also why others will have to go, with the aim of transforming the still-national Reichswehr into a docile protective force for the three November parties.

On October 15th, the *Reichsbanner-Zeitung* already openly demanded that the post of Reichswehr Minister be given to a “Reichsbanner” leader; the jubilation of the all-Jewish high finance will resound even louder when this “grand coalition” of the November clique, as demanded in Thoiry<sup>23</sup>, dissolves the German military units and dismantles the Reichswehr, just as it once dismantled the great German Army, and fills it with “Reichsbanner” representatives: these objectives of the November parties are clear to anyone who keeps their eyes open.

However, the struggle against this must be waged with renewed energy in this harsh winter, in the interest of the entire German people; it shall be waged likewise against those who stab us in the back in this struggle for liberation.

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<sup>22</sup> Hans von Seeckt, leader of the Reichswehr from its founding, 1920, to 1926. - The Translator

<sup>23</sup> In 1926, the German and French foreign ministers, Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann, met to discuss ending the military occupation of Germany; part of the French deal was to dismantle the Reichswehr, as it violated the de-armament agreement, but Germany refused. - The Translator

We have long worked peacefully alongside the “Jungdeutscher Orden”<sup>24</sup>, and have never taken a polemical stance against it: even when it had its major conflict with the “Stahlhelm” in 1925<sup>25</sup>, we continued to refrain from any intervention in the interest of peace, and this immediately earned us a defamatory article from the newspaper *Der Jungdeutsche*, the likes of which we have never seen directed against the “Reichsbanner”.

Our polemics then became sharper as well, and so we would like to take this opportunity to examine the Orden’s internal political struggle in somewhat greater detail.

When Zeus wanted to grant the poet a fiefdom as well, it turned out that the earth had already been divided up - thus, when Mahraun searched for a catchphrase for his state, he found none, since “völkisch” was already taken, and the great man could not, of course, be “National Socialist”, “Jungdeutsch” didn’t say enough, and good advice was hard to come by - but finally, they had it: “volksnational.”

Admittedly, “volksvolklich” or “nationalnational” would have been just as correct, but where concepts are lacking, words can sometimes work wonders - now, since then, the “Jungdo”<sup>26</sup> has been striving for a “volksnational” state, and has conceived of a “volksnational” movement led by Arthur Mahraun.

It has now become apparent that Mahraun has adopted a host of demands and principles for which National Socialism has been fighting from the very beginning: anti-parliamentarism, rejection of the outdated economic nationalism of the previous era, breaking the rule of the plutocracy, reconciliation of the social classes that are currently at odds with one another, and so on.

We could only be pleased by the dissemination of such ideas, no matter by which German, but now, for years on end, we have been following the practical implementation of these speeches in the Orden’s semi-official newspaper *Der Jungdeutsche* and find: no struggle against treasonous Marxism, no substantive exposure of the collusion within the international plutocracy, nowhere any discussion of “All-Jewishness” and its nation-destroying activities, but instead, the utmost deference toward Severing and his comrades.

There are also scathing and untrue reports on National Socialist rallies; furthermore, however, there are also quite interesting, purely factual foreign policy reports and ample light reading, as in any middle-class newspaper.

Some time ago, the *Völkischer Beobachter* carried the report that “Mahraun had declared his support for the Weimar Constitution”: this immediately sparked a massive uproar in the *Jungdeutscher* and cries of “How disgusting, Herr Rosenberg!” - at the time, however, I was in prison under the glorious Republic, and had no opportunity to address Mahraun’s protests in detail.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The “Jungdeutscher Orden” was a nationalist, liberalist paramilitary organization founded in 1920 by Artur Mahraun; it was banned by the National Socialists in 1933. - The Translator

<sup>25</sup> The conflict was over reconciliation with France and Great Britain: the “Jungdeutscher Orden” supported this, while the “Stahlhelm” didn’t. This would lead to a political conflict over who would lead right-wing youth in Germany, which the National Socialists solved in 1933. - The Translator

<sup>26</sup> Nickname for the “Jungdeutscher Orden”. - The Translator

<sup>27</sup> Referring to the time Rosenberg was imprisoned after the Beer Hall Putsch. - The Translator

In the speech in question, which the *Jungdeutscher* published on October 14th, 1926, it states—after the “Grand Master”<sup>28</sup> had expressed the hope, with regard to the “Reichsbanner”, that the two paths would eventually converge:

*“My brothers, in this sense I endorse the Weimar Constitution, in which it is written: the German people, united in their tribes and inspired by the will to renew and strengthen their Reich in freedom and justice.  
— Indeed, that is what we want as well, but we want to go further and build a prouder nation and a mightier stronghold than today’s Republic, which is barely viable.”*

Who could still believe that Mahraun did not recognize Weimar? He acknowledges that the traitors to the nation in the Center Party, in the Democratic Party, and in the Marxist movement—who had undermined the German people and stabbed the German army in the back—had been inspired by an idea of unity among the German tribes! He thereby acknowledges the revolt of November 9th, 1918, as an attempt to protect freedom and justice.

When Severing left—not, of course, to withdraw entirely, but to continue the struggle against the awakening Germany from another position after his break—the editor-in-chief of the *Jungdeutscher* dedicated a lead article to Severing on October 8th: the champion of the national-populist movement asserts that Severing is a “figure of high leadership caliber.”

Since Severing joined the “Reichsbanner”, he expressed the expectation that the leadership qualities of “such a man” would succeed in further uniting the “Reichsbanner”, and emphasized that Severing was leaving “with a clean slate”... - not even the *Berliner Tageblatt* itself could have highlighted its protégé any better.

Mahraun’s alleged struggle against the plutocracy and its servants is thus nothing more than empty rhetoric: in this way, the “Jungdo” leadership ties up positive German forces and prevents an effective fight against the enemies of German national identity.

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<sup>28</sup> Referring to the title used in the Teutonic Order, which the “Jungdeutscher Orden” often emulated in its symbolism and practices. - The Translator

## The Decay of the Democratic Party

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, June 12th, 1928 - the attacks on the parties of the old system not only provide a brilliant characterization, but also demonstrate that, within the rich spectrum of Rosenberg's style, the sharp tones of agitational mockery are struck with the same mastery as those of cool political deliberation.**

We have already pointed out the curious fact that the supposedly so-successful democratic November Republic is increasingly drifting away from its spiritual mother, the Democratic Party, which once proudly waddled into the so-called National Assembly with 79 representatives and had rallied 5.5 million trusting votes behind Mosse and Ullstein.<sup>29</sup>

Now, however, it is melting away: now there are only 25 Democrats left who, with Georg Bernhard at the helm, represent the spirit of Syria<sup>30</sup>, with the help of those voters whom Karl Arnold immortalized in *Simplizissimus*<sup>31</sup>—the “Pachulkes,”<sup>32</sup> as the *Tagebuch* has just scornfully called them.

We, too, had seen them dwindling, but we would not have expected the forebodings of doom among the powerful figures of democracy to be so great - however, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* now declares, in a mournful, psalm-like tone, that the situation is such that, following further decline, any political effectiveness of the German Democratic Party will cease: now one must contemplate the party's demise... Consider what such words, already spoken openly, mean: they mean that the 3.5 million copies of Ullstein's newspapers published daily, the million-copy circulations of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the vast sums of money from the banking magnates and department-store billionaires, all the work of the Central Association, etc., are no longer capable of providing the Party of the Republic—which, after all, is protected from any truly profound attack by its protective law and the canonization of all its ministers—with sufficient “spirit.”

All the hymns to Rathenau have been to no avail, and even the move to place Miss Gertrud Bäumer at the top of the Democratic Reich List<sup>33</sup> no longer had any effect; presumably, even the democratic ladies have come to feel revulsion toward a political party that, in difficult times, can no longer produce a single man. And now, just at the moment when Mosse and Ullstein are vying for Stresemann's soul and Mr. [Erich] Koch-Weser<sup>34</sup> has joined them on the executive board of the Liberal Association, a fraternal-Zionist stab in the side strikes the Democrats and brings down all hopes for the merger of the Mosse-Ullstein firm with the Warburg-Litwin-Bleichroeder firm: namely, the *Tagebuch* of the Jewish salon Bolshevik Stephan Großmann takes the liberty of publishing an essay by an unnamed Democrat, in which we learn that the luminaries of democracy have lived solely off the enumeration of “past merits,” despite the success of Stresemann “banning the black-white-red flags from his rallies.”

Then we read further:

*“A German Democratic Party with 25 members of the Reichstag is an absurdity - the name is too grand for such a small group, and its substance too broad for a splinter faction.”*

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<sup>29</sup> Referring to the Mosse and Ullstein publishing empires, two of the largest in Germany, which were founded by Jews. - The Translator

<sup>30</sup> Georg Bernhard was Jewish. - The Translator

<sup>31</sup> *Simplizissimus* was a German satire magazine that was printed from 1896 to 1967. - The Translator

<sup>32</sup> A German slang term meaning clumsy or unrefined. - The Translator

<sup>33</sup> A list of central candidates for parties. - The Translator

<sup>34</sup> German-Jewish lawyer and founder/chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party. - The Translator

From this we conclude that the DDP no longer has a fundamental goal—at least none that can be stated publicly.

Further:

*“Nevertheless, it must be stated frankly: May 20th broke the Democratic Party’s neck.”*

This will cause great pain to the “short, never-moving necks” (Goethe).

And further:

*“No joy over the catastrophe of the German Nationalists should obscure the fact that the existence of this Democratic Party is now merely a pleasure for the few, that it has become useless to democratic Germany.*

*Reformation of head and limbs? Gone, gone—no path leads from this abyss back to the heights: one could radicalize the party, but in doing so it would, at most, win back a few tens of thousands of intellectuals, unorganizable elements, and the worst voters.*

*One could also let it wither away for good—but why stage a competition between master bakers and master painters?*

*What must happen in the interest of healthy political development is the merger of the centrist parties, and courage—which has so often been lacking—is necessary for this decision: for the sake of German democracy, the Democratic Party must also be able to die!”*

An appeal to courage—that is indeed the greatest cry of anguish a decent democrat can utter - after all, according to the official *Berliner Tageblatt*, the ideal of heroism is the “most foolish of all ideals,” and the Democrats, at least according to their own assertions, are not foolish: so, they must be cowards.

Now people are telling Mr. Stresemann that he, too, has lost one-seventh of his workforce—so let’s join the new merged party! The *Kölnische Zeitung* is already in the highest of spirits about this, though the *Tägliche Rundschau* is pulling a sour face.

But it’ll work out—it has already given up so much that there’s actually nothing left of what it used to hold “sacred.”

Now the two Liberals are negotiating the percentages by which each is to share in the joint bankruptcy, and both sides are keeping an eye on the others: Koch on the left, where some are already taking steps—albeit with a limp—to defect to the Stampser-Levi-Hilferding camp, and Stresemann on the right, where quite a few might yet revolt and defect to the Dawes patriots.

The matter of the merger is not so simple though, for in the end, it might turn out that the merged parties would possess only half the meagerness of the whole.

Whatever the situation may be, we take no secret pleasure in it, for this talk of mergers proves to us that the entire liberal-democratic ideal is rotting away before our very eyes while still alive.

Its decay is poisoning all of Germany, penetrating deep into the ranks of the German nationalists, and has thus caused a terrible poisoning of the people; at the same time, however, it proves the organic validity of National Socialism, which does not criticize individual matters but is called upon to eradicate the unnatural system at its root—a system devoid of the people and hostile to individuality.

The democrats have already given themselves up for lost; now our time is drawing near.

## Ten Years of Revolt

From *Der Weltkampf*, November 1928

The German Republic, which emerged from the gloomy days of November 1918, is celebrating its tenth anniversary, though those in power would prefer not to acknowledge this fact entirely and would rather date the start of their tenure to August 11th, 1919, when the Constitution of Versailles became official state law under the innocuous title of the “Weimar Constitution.”

They want nothing more to do with those comrades who, in reality, paved the way for the Ebert-Scheidemann-Severing regime; they do not like to think back on Comrade Barth, the first so-called “People’s Commissioner”, who was punished for five sexual offenses and was spared further punishment for causing a public nuisance only through the application of § 51 (mental incapacity).

They are reluctant to recall those comrades who accompanied the field-gray-clad soldiers rushing into battle with cries of “strike-breaker”; they try as much as possible to ignore the fact that German democrats in Paris sent postcards adorned with black, red, and gold to the German army, informing them that anyone who surrendered while shouting “Republic” would be assured the best treatment; they are all too eager to cover up the fact that Siegfried Balder, a pacifist living in Switzerland, smuggled brochures adorned with black, red, and gold into Germany, in which he called for the assassination of German officers and for mutiny.

Things have gone quiet regarding the revelations of a Parisian editor-in-chief who reported that the German pacifists in Switzerland were under the control of the *Maison de la Presse* in Paris, and that the Jewish stock market speculator O.H. Kahn had donated \$50,000 to found a Swiss newspaper, which was used to spread treasonous propaganda; it seems to have been forgotten that a German court felt compelled to find the first President of the November Republic guilty of treason.

It has also faded from the memory of our contemporaries that it was the “Dutch” comrade Barmat who supplied the starving German people with inferior fatty foods and made his canned goods weigh less than what was stated on the attractive labels—a fact that did not for a moment prevent certain Social Democratic politicians, led by Reich Chancellor Bauer, from holding out their hands; they no longer want to remember one of the intellectual leaders of the Second International, Parvus-Helphand, who had acquired the money to finance the revolt through large-scale food smuggling.

The German worker is not to know that, while he was suffering terribly under the consequences of the “victory across the board,” the leaders of the Social Democratic Party were feasting so lavishly in Parvus’s magnificent villa near Zurich that the Swiss government felt compelled to expel the comrades; Parvus then continued his schemes in his proletarian palace at Schwanenwerder, surrounded by Sklarz, Scheidemann, and Hänisch, only to die as a highly honored fellow citizen.

After all, what business is it of the people if the “national” bourgeoisie abandons the once-proclaimed struggle against the November Republic, if Gustav Stresemann happily and devoutly joins Comrades Braun and Severing at the castle of Litwin—the Eastern European Jew and false Commercial Councilor—allows his party to accept money from him, and accepts beautiful ivory vases with silver inlays as gifts - and for what? Surely for his pleasant and witty company.

No one today even thinks anymore of Center Party Minister Höfle, who allowed himself to be smoothly and elegantly bribed by opportunistic Eastern immigrants, or of Lange-Hegemann, the other Center Party heavyweight at the Barmat Group—who counts the names of those who still live their carefree lives as leaders of the proletariat, undiscovered?

This brief selection of scandals is intended to show that, in today's era of democratic glory, there is not a single "politician" who can be morally brought down - if, for example, a minister is proven to have connections of the most nefarious kind, it does him no harm at all; on the contrary, it only strengthens his position, because the democratic world press supports him all the more.

On June 28th, 1919, the Social Democratic Reich Foreign Minister Hermann Müller signed the Treaty of Versailles; exactly nine years later, on the anniversary of this most dreadful betrayal of the nation, this very man became Chancellor of the November Republic!

This fact alone shows that even a politician in Germany cannot be brought down by any political failure, and that the parties complicit in the joint betrayal of November 1918 are so tightly bound together that they will defend absolutely everything, even their policy of compliance, even the Dawes surrender.

This, therefore, leads to only one conclusion: the formation of a political force against all these parties and also against the individuals who have surrendered to them entirely or in part, who will never step down of their own accord.

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The attack on the 1918 revolt and its results can in no way be a condemnation of revolution per se, or a defense of so-called evolution as the sole model of organic development; rather, a revolutionary uprising very often forms part of organic growth, just as, conversely, evolution is often nothing more than a symptom of decay - the defining feature of the events of 1918 is that they were not an organic revolution against a decaying form of life, but a soulless mutiny aimed at making that decaying form the core of the state.

The spirit of November 1918, which we can observe today in literature, theater, cinema, and in parliaments, had already worn down the spiritual forces of resistance long before: Rathenau, Max Reinhardt-Goldmann, Mosse-Moses, and Allstem dominated the scene even before the soldiers' councils came to power, and the national bourgeoisie had given up on cultivating a true national character and regarded men like Lagarde, Langbehn, and Chamberlain merely as cultural curiosities, lagging behind the liberal and progressive thinking in terms of "continents" and the "global economy": that is why the German nation's current punishment—in the form of figures like Matthias Erzberger, Paul Levi, and Gustav Stresemann—is merely a symbol of a fate of its own making.

We have no gods to blame for this, nor Satanism or Kabbalah, but first and foremost ourselves - this, of course, does not prevent a struggle against the Levi-Erzberger-Stresemann faction, but, on the contrary, it demands it, for man does not fight against abstractions, but against people.

A rejection of today's system with all one's energy must therefore be regarded as more than a sign of awakening; it is not a "refined" spiritual withdrawal from life.

The men of November 9th, 1918, believed they were accomplishing something great by betraying the very essence of the nation, spitting on the national ideal, and handing over the field-gray army to mortal enemies both within and beyond the Reich's borders, only to end up groveling humbly before foreign powers - therefore, there can be no peace treaty with the "ideas," nor with the leaders of the November revolt, nor with their later successors, and these contradictions must not be reconciled, but must be fought through to the end.

The National Socialist movement of the active German minority claims today to be the Germany of the future: it draws upon the “one-third”—the primordial substance—and pierces through that slimy, tenacious layer of internationalist mentality associated with the internationalism of all varieties of modern political charlatanism.

## Calm in the Storm

**It is a defining characteristic of Rosenberg's essays that they never sugarcoat the truth - thus, in this Christmas essay published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on December 25th, 1929, Rosenberg also painted an unvarnished picture of the prospects at the time.**

Not since 1923 has Christmas in Germany been so shrouded in hardship and worry as it is today. For four years, the German people lived in the deceptive hope that there would finally be peace on earth: Dr. Gustav Stresemann promised a "peace from God on the Rhine," and illusions held millions in their spell, even in the midst of the deepest anxiety.

It was therefore bitterly difficult for us, in the face of this state of mind, to speak the truth: namely, that no "peace from God" beckons us, but rather that new weapons are being forged against us, and that we are merely being "educated" toward understanding without anyone taking it seriously themselves.

Now it seems that, little by little, larger segments of the population are awakening from this trance, for chaos reigns in government offices, with only half-veiled admissions of bankruptcy across the board; at the same time, however, the parties are making brazen attempts to deny their responsibility for these conditions: before us lies a front of opponents who will convene in The Hague.

The Christmas bells ring more somberly than ever before, and yet we National Socialists, in particular, wish to take a few hours to catch our breath and commemorate those who, despite the spinelessness of the present, suffered and bled for a great future: the strength that drove them is the guarantee that, although a heavy crust of foreign nature and foreign power weighs upon us, the eternal German spirit lives on beneath it and, precisely now, in this time of deepest humiliation, is beginning to stir with youthful vigor. Our faith in the future—which Lagarde summed up in the single sentence, "The German man's religion is his fatherland"—has already taken root in hundreds of thousands of hearts and, as a primal force of the soul, will prevail against all obscurantists and traitors.

The time of the winter solstice has arrived, and now things are beginning to grow brighter and lighter: just as the lights on the trees once symbolized the victorious power of light in the dark northern night, so too shall those same lights continue to do so in the future.

It is often silent thoughts that bring the storm—when this silence is deep, vast, and resolute, representing concentrated spiritual strength, ready to "storm heaven," as the "silent" mystic Angelus Silesius once demanded.

Collection, purification, preparation: living through a newly won sense of community is the awareness of a great mission in the service of the German people.

## The Center Party and the Christian People's Service

**From the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, April 1931 - from the very beginning of his political career, Rosenberg had recognized the nature of the Center Party as clearly as few others; no one else was able to strike the tone—at once biting iron and “subdued”—that was necessary for the struggle against this cornerstone of the system.**

The issue of National Socialism and religion has been a constant source of debate ever since the emergence of the NSDAP.

From the very beginning, Adolf Hitler had adopted the stance of a statesman who regarded the existence of different religious beliefs as a given and sought to keep the political movement separate from religious conflicts: one might think that every Christian denomination would have welcomed the emergence of a labor movement that was preparing, with all its energy, to fight against soul-destroying atheistic Marxism—a movement that further embraced idealistic ideas against the reign of Mammon in our time and, like Jesus of old, wielded the scourge against the money changers and merchants—but the opposite occurred, for the very party that claimed to pursue only Christian politics rose up to fight against National Socialism and, the stronger it became, increasingly sided with the Social Democrats, who were hostile to all religion; this party formed coalitions for the purpose of eradicating the German labor movement and supported those powers that had been financing the movement to leave the church for years, and have not ceased this propaganda even after the coalition agreements.

There was something that Marxism detested just as much as the Center Party did, giving each other something in common: namely, a conscious sense of national identity and an appeal to the Germanic sense of morality, as stated in Point 24 of the party program.<sup>35</sup>

At Catholic conventions, which were in fact Center Party gatherings (Constance, 1923), German nationalism was therefore portrayed as “the greatest heresy,” and bishops (Mainz) and cardinals (Faulhaber) vied with one another in condemning this “neo-paganism,” forbidding membership in the NSDAP; in some cases, Catholic National Socialists were even excluded from the sacraments, which they excused based on Catholic doctrine.

What is remarkable about these attempts is the fact that in strictly Catholic Italy, the most extreme form of nationalism has become the state ideology, and the Pope—who for decades had refused any reconciliation with liberalism—made peace precisely with the leader of this most fervent nationalism; indeed, after the signing of the Lateran Pact<sup>36</sup>, he even called Mussolini a “man of Providence.”

The royal anthem now resounds even more frequently from church organs in Italy, and it is said of the cardinals of Italian origin that beneath their purple robes they wear the black shirt of Fascism.

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<sup>35</sup> *"We demand freedom of all religious denominations in the state, insofar as they do not endanger its existence or violate the moral and ethical sensibilities of the Germanic race.*

*The party as such represents the standpoint of positive Christianity without binding itself to any particular denomination; it combats the Jewish-materialistic spirit within and outside our ranks, and is convinced that a lasting recovery of our people can only come about from within on the basis of a simple demand: the common good before self-interest."* - The Translator

<sup>36</sup> Agreements made in 1929 between the Holy See and Fascist Italy that made Catholicism the state religion, created Vatican City as a papal state, and gave millions in lire to the Vatican to compensate for lost papal territories.  
- The Translator

The German people now demand nothing more than that they, as a whole, be granted the same right to national pride—the right to establish a genuine nation-state based on their own character, and if, in light of the now indisputable Italian facts, this is denied to them on the grounds of “Catholic doctrine” by their church authorities, then there are only two possible conclusions: either there are two Catholic doctrines, or the faith of the Catholic masses is being deliberately misled to achieve political goals: since the former case is ruled out (the Roman Church has only one head), then only the latter remains.

Although the Center Party fields Zionists and chairmen of Jewish religious communities as candidates for the Reichstag, and also admits Protestants as members with no influence, it is nonetheless a strictly Catholic denominational party.

Just as Marxism seeks to perpetuate the division of the nation through the doctrine of the social class struggle, so the Center Party has declared a denominational class struggle against the German nation, carrying the spiritual and religious struggle into the realm of power politics; just as the Social Democrat has only his class in mind, so the Center Party leader has only his denominational interests at heart. This party thrives on conflict, and that is why it hated the NSDAP from the very first day with a deep-seated loathing, because the NSDAP served as a living example of how religious tolerance within a party had been put into practice in an exemplary manner: religious differences of opinion and philosophical disputes had to be conducted outside our party organization.

As soon as the party convened, as soon as the SA donned its brown shirts, there were no longer any Catholics or Protestants, but only Germans fighting for the survival and honor of their people; no member of the NSDAP is asked whether he is Catholic or Protestant, whether he belongs to the German Church or is a Reformed Christian, for the only thing that matters is one’s service to German freedom.

The deep wounds of the Thirty Years’ War were finally healing within the National Socialist movement, just as the wounds of the Marxist and bourgeois class struggle were beginning to scar over; then arose the concerted struggle of all those political upstarts who sucked the blood from these wounds in the body of the people to sustain their parasitic existence - the Marxists screamed “servants of the capitalists,” the bourgeois leaders railed against “National Bolsheviks,” and the Center Party cried out “enemies of every religion.”

Never has religious sentiment been treated as unscrupulously as it has been by the Center Party and the political prelates who lead it, and there was one point in particular that the zealous dialecticians repeatedly targeted: National Socialism claims, as has been stated, not to be an ordinary political party, but also a worldview, and to strengthen the struggle against German nationalism, the Center points to this worldview and declares it to be “pagan, anti-Catholic racial idolatry.”

In response to this, it can be said that racial science established the diversity and differing values of the races, much as one makes a discovery in the fields of physics and chemistry; such a discovery cannot be combated by any dogmas or taboo terms, and the Church has already had to yield to these facts on several occasions: for example, when Copernicus first put forward his heliocentric theory—when the flat Earth, with Heaven above and Hell below, suddenly became a sphere floating freely in space—an entire world of dogmas rose up against this doctrine, and until the year 1827 (!), all works that taught this solar system were on the Index<sup>37</sup>.

Now, Copernicus’s discovery naturally entailed a worldview entirely different from the biblical one—a different perspective on the world—but this discovery did no harm whatsoever to true religion, which

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<sup>37</sup> The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, a list of prohibited books banned by the Roman Church. - The Translator

springs from the human soul; it took the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches (Luther had called Copernicus a charlatan and a fraud) about 300 years to come to terms with the new worldview, but they ultimately had to yield to it.

Another example is the treatment of the native language: only the use of pagan (this term is entirely appropriate here) Latin was required, and Meister Eckehart was fiercely opposed when he favored the German language, yet the entire German people owe their unifying High German language to the “heretic” Luther.

The statutes of the Jesuit Order stated that the use of the mother tongue in all matters concerning school was never permitted, but in 1830, the Order found itself compelled to at least permit the use of the mother tongue for poetry—at a time when Goethe was nearing the end of his life’s work!

And the well-known Jesuit Father Duhr admitted:

*“This remained the principle henceforth: the practice of the mother tongue is recommended, but it should not be made into a separate school subject,”*

This pursuit of the exquisite—which claims to be a form of perfection in and of itself—has been overcome; now, today, while safeguarding the interests of its faithful, the Roman Catholic Church often advocates for the native language itself.

The situation is now quite similar with regard to racial studies in relation to religion, and a judgment by a bishop, a cardinal, or even the Pope on race is, in this case, purely a private opinion on a biological—or, based on that, a political—problem that lies outside the purely religious authority to which the devout Catholic grants him: a dogmatic anathema can no longer undo a scientific discovery.

In the Middle Ages, researchers were burned as sorcerers, and today, the Vatican is building its own radio station, which a Torquemada<sup>38</sup> would surely have condemned as the most evil work of the Devil: that is why the struggle against racial studies is not of a religious nature, but rather a struggle waged by political interest groups that had previously rallied their voters on a different basis.

An anathema against the concept of racial identity will therefore be overcome for the same reason that Copernicus’s theories had to be acknowledged—and it is an irony of world history that one of the most perceptive researchers of the laws of heredity was the Catholic priest Gregor Mendel...

It follows from these explanations that worldview and religion are not the same thing: a worldview can exist outside of religion (atomistic explanations of the world, naturalistic monism), but it can also encompass religion.

The National Socialist movement is a popular movement based on a new yet time-honored worldview centered on the value of blood; it seeks to protect healthy, good blood, and whether one chooses to describe this as God’s creation or an ironclad law of nature, in both cases National Socialism serves a constructive principle, which in itself implies a fundamentally religious spirit.

The political struggle movement leaves the most delicate questions of the soul—concerning God and immortality, fate and grace—to the individual to decide; each person may seek out those comforters and spiritual guides whom they need to enrich their innermost life.

Those who oppose the consciously German essence in Bavaria, Silesia, and along the Rhine, in their hatred and criticism of Point 24 of the National Socialist program, go so far as to claim that there is no

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<sup>38</sup> Tomás de Torquemada, first Grand Inquisitor of the Spanish Inquisition. - The Translator

such thing as a distinct “Germanic sense of morality” that could be regarded as a standard for action: this amounts to a deliberate denial of German cultural consciousness itself—a terrible disregard for the value of one’s own ancestors, for without the character traits of the Germanic people necessary for the construction of a state and society, Germany, for example, would never have come into being as a way of life, and without its strength and its will to shape the world, the very land on which those who are today the principal beneficiaries of this colonizing advance now sit would never have been conquered—yet they are inwardly completely estranged from the founders of prosperity, freedom, and the state.

If the state-building character was indeed part of Germanic morality, then this has manifested itself so powerfully in other aspects of life and in art that it takes an unparalleled audacity to equate the Hottentots or the Jews with the Germanic spirit - when, for example, the Vandal Stilicho became regent of Rome, one of his first acts was to ban gladiatorial combat—that most dreadful symbol of a degenerate, bestialized world, which had adopted those cruel games from the Etruscans of the Near East; the great Ostrogoth Theodoric later did the same, replacing the gladiatorial slaughter with knightly tournaments. And without falling into a one-sided glorification of Germanic culture, one may surely say that, for example, the *Gudrunlied*—the hymn to a proud woman—reflects the most beautiful spiritual longing, just as does the noble, magnanimous figure of Siegfried; even in Hagen<sup>39</sup>, something unconditional and conciliatory glimmers from a deep foundation: his loyalty to his king.

Germanic morality was that profound sincerity toward oneself, which sought to give an account of its own self, of nature, and of the cosmos: from this yearning were born the mystics and the great explorers of nature, right up to Immanuel Kant’s sublime doctrine of duty.

In German music, this same spirit has become a life-affirming force that transcends the world, so that the denial of this Germanic value constitutes an attack aimed at the destruction of the German soul, which has always shaped the world: the fact that such a denial could be openly voiced demonstrates the profound decline that Germany as a nation has suffered today, but it also highlights the necessity of a general popular resistance—regardless of religious affiliation—against a movement whose ultimate outcome will be racial chaos and the spiritual, and ultimately political, downfall of the German nation.

Thus, when the Center Party now brazenly declares that National Socialism is organizing a new “Kulturkampf”—that is, that it is preparing state persecution of the Catholic Church—this is a slanderous lie of the worst kind, for whatever an individual National Socialist may think about one religious dogma or another, he has always rejected any power-political intervention against a religious denomination and will continue to do so in the future: he has proven this through his actions.

The Center Party, meanwhile, has done the opposite: it has paid lip service to defending Catholic dogmas, but through its alliances with Marxism, it has enabled the latter to engage in unrestrained atheistic propaganda and thereby rendered services to Bolshevism as a whole; the prerequisite for religious renewal is thus the destruction of Marxism and the defeat of the Center Party, as long as it continues in practice to foster Marxism as a whole.

On the Protestant side, similarly minded political opportunists have watched the anti-Marxist movement grow, and they have now founded a denominational party similar to the Center Party: the Christian People’s Service.

There can be no doubt that National Socialism takes exactly the same stance toward this “Protestant” organization as it does toward the “Catholic” Center Party: greater successes by the “People’s Service” would degrade the great German struggle for liberation to a denominational squabble, and at any rate,

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<sup>39</sup> Hagen von Tronje, a character in the *Nibelungenlied* who kills the hero Siegfried. - The Translator

they would once again force the struggle onto a level that must remain outside the great political head-on battle of all.

Incidentally, the first thing the Reichstag faction of these “Protestants” did was to vote against the national opposition’s candidate for the post of Reichstag President, as they preferred to join forces with the Center Party in casting their vote for the staunch advocate of conscientious objection, the left-wing Social Democrat Paul Loebe - here, too, then, a blatant betrayal of both the national and the Christian ideal.

In light of this treacherous attitude—influenced by Marxist thinking—on the part of the political representatives of both denominations, it is no wonder that the movement to leave the church is growing; that the sects of the Adventists, the Seventh-day Adventists, and so on are swelling enormously, and indeed that the Communist International of the godless is setting out to systematically destroy all religious values and is mobilizing immense resources to that end.

The NSDAP has also taken action against these forces that are destroying the people (in Munich, too, the rallies of the “Bible Students”<sup>40</sup> were banned by the Bavarian People’s Party government only after we spoke out clearly against it), but the very fact that all these movements are spreading reveals the weakness of the intrinsic appeal of the current leadership of both the Catholic and Protestant churches.

Now, assessing the deeper ideological causes that may be at play here lies outside the NSDAP’s sphere of competence, but it also believes it has the unconditional right and the imperative duty to point out one phenomenon: the encroachment of the clergy into political party struggles.

Bismarck himself had already reproached Stoecker<sup>41</sup> for wanting to be both an active pastor and a political leader, acting on the sound instinct that national policy as a whole would inevitably be subordinated to purely denominational considerations, and that, moreover, the psyche of a pastor and that of a political leader could not be organically reconciled - thus, today, we in Germany are once again confronted with the fact that a party—the Center Party—is under purely clerical leadership.

The party chairman of the Center and, moreover, its foreign policy chief (along with Prelate Ulitzka) is the papal prelate Dr. Kaas; meanwhile, the actual head of the Bavarian People’s Party is the leader of the state parliamentary group in Bavaria, Cathedral Provost Wohlmuth, and the leader of the party’s Reichstag faction and also its foreign policy spokesman is Prelate Leicht, etc - thus, Catholic priests are active on the front lines of the Center’s political campaign (while patriotic clergy such as Abbot Schachleiter<sup>42</sup> and Dr. theol. Haeuser<sup>43</sup>, etc.—are simply forbidden from speaking), and when the Center’s policies, which are detrimental to the people, are opposed—even in the form of rejecting its leaders—this is called “insulting the priests.”

The people see this everywhere, and this is one reason why anti-religious criticism falls on fertile ground - thus, the task of the Center Party clergy is not to pay lip service to Catholicism at public gatherings, only to share political spoils with their atheistic Marxist coalition partners immediately afterward, but rather to leave the political arena and return to what they were ordained to be: pastors.

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<sup>40</sup> The Bible Student Movement was a early name for the Jehovah’s Witness sect. - The Translator

<sup>41</sup> Adolf Stoecker, German clergyman and politician who founded the Christian Social Party in 1878. - The Translator

<sup>42</sup> Albanus Schachleiter, Catholic priest and monk, and one of the few Catholic priests who openly supported the National Socialist movement until his death in 1937. - The Translator

<sup>43</sup> Philipp Haeuser, Catholic priest and another supporter of National Socialism, known for his nationalist writings during the Weimar Republic and being a guest of honor at the 1939 Nuremberg rally. - The Translator

Today, more than ever, the nation needs comforters for the human soul, but it must be noted here that the hate-filled “Center” spirit has penetrated even those circles that do not outwardly engage in politics: for example, it could happen that a Bavarian pastor openly slandered Adolf Hitler from the pulpit, claiming that he had spat out a host, and though sued and found guilty of slander, the pastor was acquitted.

In the confessional, penitents are forbidden—under threat of severe punishment and the torments of hell—from attending National Socialist rallies or reading the *Völkischer Beobachter*; women are told they must refuse to fulfill their marital duties toward their husbands if the latter do not vote for the Center Party, and so on.

All of this—combined with terrible harassment of clergy who do not campaign for the Center Party—outrages the people of sound judgment, who increasingly see the pastor disappearing and the narrow-minded Center Party partisan taking his place.

A revival in religious life will not occur until the priest has returned to his true calling and has submitted to the directives of his church leader; the same applies, of course, to the Protestants as well.

The finest cultural achievement of Protestantism was undoubtedly the Protestant parsonage in small towns and villages, and here, too, the cosmopolitan world has intervened in a nerve-wracking manner and awakened ambitious desires that would otherwise have directed one’s energies toward purely pastoral concerns; here, too, the clergyman, as long as he serves in that capacity, should disappear from the parliamentary rostrum and from the political assembly.

We do not intend to restrict the vitality of either Protestant or Catholic clergy, but from the pulpit—and in the manner required by their office, which is intended for all—they should address matters of the nation as a whole, society as a whole, and culture as a whole: here lie the great opportunities for impact, and here alone are the levers for deepening and renewing religious life.

It is just as unnatural for a pastor to become a member of parliament as it would be for a statesman to sit in the confessional - thus, the organically grounded separation of these spheres of activity is the first prerequisite for a new, spiritually healthy restructuring of German society.

## “So-Called Balts”

With a major outburst in the Reichstag, Alfred Rosenberg reportedly threw the otherwise “stony-faced” Mr. Brüning<sup>44</sup> off balance.

Brüning allowed himself to be provoked into speaking of “so-called Balts” and said, verbatim, that he objected to being accused of pursuing an un-German policy by a man who, “at the very moment when I was fighting to my last breath in the war, had not yet discovered which fatherland he even had”; the following day, February 26th, 1932, he received the following response from Alfred Rosenberg in the Reichstag.

Yesterday, the Reich Chancellor avoided addressing the specific findings regarding the failures of his tenure: he offered no response to the evidence that German foreign policy had completely failed in the Upper Silesian conflict, in the matter of the customs union, and at the disarmament conference, and the Reich Chancellor therefore deemed it expedient to extricate himself from this utterly helpless situation by resorting to personal attacks, and by accusing the National Socialist leaders of spreading deliberate lies—without the President of this assembly reprimanding him.

Furthermore, he attempted to defend the Center Party’s policies by launching an attack against a German ethnic group, the Balts, referring to them as “so-called Balts”; Dr. Brüning then stated, referring to me, that he rejected any attack on the Center Party by a person who, as recently as November 9th, 1918, had not known where his fatherland was: now, ten million Germans living abroad will learn of this mockery of their tragic fate today, and will have to expect that the current Reich Chancellor will soon speak of “so-called Sudeten Germans” and “so-called Memel Germans” in response to criticism.

I would like to remind you that, to the best of my knowledge, the current Reich President was born in a city that today belongs to Poland; Germans living abroad will also recall that they owe their situation in part to both today’s and the old Center Party’s policies.

The Baltic region was once lost to the German people as a consequence of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation’s crusading policy; the collapse of Germany was thus also the collapse of the Balts, and they—who had defended their national identity for centuries—found themselves in the tragic situation of often being sent to Siberia during the war simply for speaking a German word; furthermore, in our corps headquarters, we sang German folk songs during the war.

I have earned the right to speak here through a 12-year struggle within the National Socialist movement, and as a member and representative of the National Socialist Reich Leadership, I am here to represent its foreign policy: that is more legitimate than the representation of a party allied with the Reich Chancellor, whose leader declares that he knows of no fatherland called Germany.

As for the justification for my criticism of the Center Party—which has so thoroughly thrown the Reich Chancellor off balance—I would like to quote here just one passage from his newspaper, the *Badischer Beobachter*, in issue No. 162 of the 1929 volume, which let slip something it had heard from its superiors in Berlin or some other city - this newspaper wrote:

*“The Young Plan is not a diktat, but an agreement: what we used to give to the army and navy, France and the others now receive, and if one wishes to consistently pursue the path of understanding, then the*

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<sup>44</sup> Heinrich Brüning, German Center Party politician and chancellor from 1930 to 1932. - The Translator

*Western Locarno must be followed by an Eastern Locarno—that is, Poland's western border must be guaranteed.*

*France's hegemony in Europe must be a given for Germany.”*

That is the true nature of the Center Party, and until the Center Party comes to terms with this, there will be no rebirth of Germany.

## Put an End to the Murderous Commune!

**This essay was published on August 3rd, 1932, in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on the occasion of the murder of four SA comrades by Marxists - the four who fell were: Sturmführer Axel Schaffet of Braunschweig, SA member Reinke of Königsberg, SA member Peter Kölln of Itzehoe, and SA member Friedrich Schroen of Essen.**

Yesterday we were once again forced to report four brutal murders of our comrades. Evidently emboldened once more by the lifting of the state of emergency in Berlin-Brandenburg<sup>45</sup>—which took place instead of an expansion of the affected area—the murderous rabble has begun its “communist activities” by carrying out attacks on decent Germans: now, the nerves of our SA members, who are attacked daily, are stretched to the breaking point.

In his latest speech, the Reich Chancellor himself acknowledged that he is aware of the nature of individual terror as a means of intimidation and preparation for mass revolt - but now this must come to an end!

Fourteen million Germans, with unprecedented unanimity, demand that measures finally be taken to hold the street murderers—as well as those intellectually responsible within the KPD—be held accountable, for Germany, once a decent state, is in danger of sinking into the worst kind of anarchy.

These savage murders must inevitably lead to acts of self-defense, and such acts of self-defense—which we cannot control, but which are erupting in the wake of the atrocities committed by the Commune and the Iron Front<sup>46</sup>—could lead to unforeseeable consequences.

Above all that has been described and put to paper stands the preservation of the nation’s very existence, for just as the police exist for criminal offenders, so too must the full force of the state be deployed to save the nation when, under democratic-Marxist and Center Party rule, the “political” rabble begins to murder.

Nations whose defensive instincts remain unbroken have taken preemptive action today to defend themselves against these agents of decay: Yugoslavia has banned the Communist Party, and so has Hungary, for example.

Just recently, two communists in Hungary were proven to have engaged in activities destructive to the people on behalf of the Third International; they were sentenced to death and hanged, but the *Vorwärts* expressed its outrage as follows:

*“The two victims of the summary court—even according to the indictment—did nothing more than attempt to rebuild a Communist Party, receive news from other countries, and pass it on there!”*

The central organ of Braun and Severing thus advocated espionage on behalf of Moscow, which, of course, will not prevent the “Christian” Center from continuing to gush over its loyal red coalition partner, under whose co-rule Bolshevism “has done nothing more” than to work toward the “establishment” of the Communist International’s rule, to the detriment of the German people, including its entire working class.

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<sup>45</sup> Declared on July 20th, 1932, following the Prussian coup d’état of Chancellor Franz von Papen.

This state of emergency was never fully lifted, but expanded and incorporated into the Reich following the National Socialist rise to power in 1933. - The Translator

<sup>46</sup> A parliamentary anti-fascist underground organization founded in 1931. - The Translator

So, it is clear who is allowing the communist blood-soaked dictatorship to grow unchecked: this makes our demand for the nation's self-defense—through the eradication of Bolshevik criminals as well as Bolshevik propaganda centers—all the more urgent.

The KPD has forfeited the right to still be considered a political party today, given its ongoing, brutal attacks: just as cyanide cannot be counted among wines, and just as the sale of physical poison had to be banned, so too must the poison of the soul be expelled forever from the body of the people, from every place it might penetrate, even if the Central Committee were to express “fundamental constitutional concerns.”

The problem is more urgent than ever, and it must be resolved as quickly as possible: this is demanded by the call of Germany, by the murdered victims, and by 14 million people, every one of whom must feel that their life and limb are threatened; however, the problem cannot be completely solved by a rigid judicial system alone, but rather, this must be supplemented by National Socialist education of the decent but misguided workers, for only this combination of national education and martial law will make Germany immune to corrosive poison—the first prerequisite for stability in both domestic and foreign policy.

## A Mark Is a Mark—A Person Is a Person

**Alfred Rosenberg's statement of principle on the Potempa affair<sup>47</sup> in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, August 1932. As is well known, in the Beuthen trial, the five National Socialists who had carried out the people's judgment against a traitor to the state and a serious criminal were initially to be sentenced to death; Alfred Rosenberg's statement on this trial simultaneously illustrates the sometimes society-destroying effects of "law for its own sake" and lays out the foundations of a truly national German legal system.**

In Beuthen, five National Socialists were sentenced to death because, after years of persecution and terror, they had resorted to self-defense and shot a communist.

The press of the currently ruling system, in its unanimous defense of the Beuthen death sentence, emphasized that neither the state nor the government nor the court could be blamed; specifically, the court had to render its verdict "uninfluenced by any political situation": this reveals the abysmal difference that forever separates our thinking and our sense of justice from those of liberalism and reaction.

It is characteristic of the "law" that prevails today—which encrusts all the people's healthy instincts for self-preservation—that one human being is supposed to be equal to another, though other nations, though burdened with similar anti-national laws, have nevertheless left themselves sufficient leeway for self-evident self-protection: the U.S. Constitution, for example, recognizes only American citizens without any distinction of race or origin, yet there remain insurmountable social barriers between whites and blacks.

A black person is not allowed to ride in the same vehicle as a white person, let alone intermingle; furthermore, if a black man rapes a white woman, he will be lynched by the crowd: this is not "nice," but it is the only possible correction to a law that runs counter to nature, dating back to a time when the Masonic-humanitarian self-poisoning began.

The only solution to the conflict can lie solely in the fact that, in cases of racial defilement, the American woman in question is expelled from the union of states, while a black rapist is executed by law.

When the Great War broke out, the French pacifist Jaurès<sup>48</sup> was assassinated, and the murderer was later acquitted by the court: our "objective" jurists were horrified by this "scandal", but France, however, acted in its own vital interest.

The man who carried out an assassination attempt on Clemenceau<sup>49</sup>, meanwhile, was summarily executed: that was a matter of course.

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<sup>47</sup> On August 9th, 1932, five SA men broke into the home of a Communist trade unionist and beat him to death. Originally sentenced to death after a decree was passed giving the death penalty to those guilty of politically-motivated murders, the five were instead sentenced to life imprisonment in September after it was decided that this decree was passed days earlier and the five men were unaware of it.

Following the National Socialist rise to power, the men were freed, though its ringleader, Paul Lachmann, was arrested and imprisoned in 1939 for poaching. - The Translator

<sup>48</sup> Jean Jaurès was a French pacifist and socialist; in 1914, he was assassinated by a French nationalist, Raoul Villain, and was acquitted by a jury of his peers in 1919. - The Translator

<sup>49</sup> On February 19th, 1919, Georges Clemenceau was nearly assassinated by a French anarchist, Émile Cottin, during the Paris Peace Conference.

Rosenberg is incorrect here that Cottin was executed, as Cottin was actually spared execution by Clemenceau after he filed for leniency on his behalf. - The Translator

Contrary to all Jewish-liberalist laws asserting that all humans are equal, some nations have thus retained their instincts after all: even when Kurt Eisner was shot, a similar instinct kicked in and prevented the imposition of the death penalty; later, however, a “German judiciary” issued a warrant for Schlageter’s arrest, and the all-Jewish press denounced the good people of Silesia as “murderers.”

During the period of runaway inflation, that same “justice system” also declared that one mark was equal to another: this fallacy of “objective thinking” cost thousands of lives and deprived the nation of its entire accumulated national wealth.

Now the “objectivists” in Beuthen are particularly proud and boast of their “incorruptible” judiciary, which they claim takes no political circumstances into account - we, however, declare that such consideration must be the essence of all trials.

Not all people are equal, nor are all acts the same: a man who was once a Polish insurgent and later, as a communist, incited attacks against our comrades was killed—after he had just once again incited acts of terror—just a year after the Ohlau murders<sup>50</sup>—the “culmination” of years of violence—sparked a terrible outcry.

One might perhaps say that the right to self-defense had been taken too far—but to hand down death sentences, five death sentences, after more than 300 murders of our comrades over the course of 10 years had gone unpunished in 90 percent of the cases—that was too much, for it showed the judiciary to be isolated from the entire German people; only that cowardly bourgeoisie, which had allowed Marxism to beat its back bloody without protest, and of course the newspapers of the “All-Jewish” establishment, rejoiced, for now Hitler’s SA men were not only equated with communists, but even placed below the rank of “subhumans.”

Five Germans, including veteran front-line soldiers, are to be shot because a Communist and former Polish insurgent had been killed!

Such “justice” runs counter to a nation’s most basic instinct for self-preservation - here, in this single example, the thinking of the last 150 years comes crashing down and reveals the entire insane foundation of its existence, but through this tangible, terrible case, 80 million Germans today are witnessing just how much a worldview—indeed, often just a slight shift in philosophical thought—can influence the practice of life for decades, even centuries.

That is why National Socialism also takes a worldview-based approach: for it, not every soul is equal, nor is every human being the same; rather, its goal is the strong German individual, its commitment is the protection of this German, and everything—legal and social life, politics, and the economy—must be aligned with this objective.

This is a new doctrine that an uncomprehending generation still shortsightedly opposes today, even though its own misery is the inevitable consequence of disregarding this worldview - thus, only a commitment to the inequality and unequal worth of human beings—along with the unconditional defense of the nation’s life—will create the possibility for political freedom in an enslaved Germany.

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<sup>50</sup> On August 9th, 1931, two Berlin police captains, Paul Anlauf and Franz Lenck, were assassinated by members of the KPD on the orders of German communist Walter Ulbricht after police interference messed with the plans of the KPD. - The Translator

## **The Criminals**

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 1st, 1933**

Step by step, so-called political Marxism is being exposed as criminality in disguise.

Time and again, the red seducers had managed to make the deceived workers believe they were fighting for social freedoms, when in reality it was all just the basest instincts for personal enrichment (from Barmat to Brolat): now this profit-seeking cooperative under the red flag has found itself threatened by the awakened people, while in the criminal basements of the Liebknecht House, conspiracies were hatched and murders were planned.

Now, while these activities could not be uncovered under SPD's Grzesinski, under Berlin's National Socialist police chief, the secret cellars, the criminal alarm systems, and the underground side exits were tracked down, and the breeding ground of communism was eradicated.

Then, after having already set fire to the Berlin Palace, he launched his "grand strike": shortly after a secret meeting of the Communist Reichstag faction, the giant dome of the German Reichstag burst into a sea of flames.

From many locations, the communist rabble set the nation's property ablaze, destroyed property worth millions, brazenly defied the entire people, and began to carry out its plan of destruction hatched in the Liebknecht House.

The destruction of the Reichstag, however, was only to be the beginning: as explained elsewhere, the police seized detailed deployment plans from the KPD that called for acts of individual terrorism, hostage-taking, and executions; dynamite attacks on churches were to be carried out, and railroads and museums were to be destroyed.

The entire people, regardless of social class, will welcome the resolve of the National Socialist government and be forever grateful to it, for only today has it become clear even to the most unsuspecting among us what communism means—and from what Adolf Hitler has saved the German nation at the very last hour.

Thus, with this realization, the full weight of responsibility falls upon those men and parties that have ruled Germany for the past fourteen years, for the Social Democrats and the Center Party are jointly to blame for allowing the red plague to spread almost unchecked.

These parties did not fight against communism, but against a national Germany; they allowed the vicious propaganda to continue, and they did nothing as, over the course of many long years, one SA man after another fell under the bullets or knives of criminals; they took almost no notice of this in their press, but on the contrary, the "underhanded work" of communism seemed to them to aid their efforts to suppress the German freedom movement.

The burning Reichstag, set ablaze by communist criminals—that is the fruit of the SPD and Center Party government.

The German people have Adolf Hitler to thank for the fact that not all of the nation's art treasures were destroyed, and that hostage murders and the blowing up of churches did not occur - now we hope that even those millions of decent German workers who have so far been unable to see through their deceitful and criminal seducers will likewise awaken and turn away from the arsonists and murderers.

The hour has now come when all of working Germany must shake off the scoundrels and crooks: there will be no more leniency or mercy here, but only iron justice in the service of the nation's self-defense. The entire German people will therefore stand behind the man who has saved them from the worst possible fate—the rule of criminals and the extermination of the people—behind Adolf Hitler.

## Camouflage

**The incorruptible clarity of political vision that characterized Alfred Rosenberg was not clouded for even a moment by the movement's great victory - as so often before, he sounded his warning on March 27th, 1933, in the *Völkischer Beobachter*: "Beware of excessive naivety!"**

One trait above all others has brought terrible collapses upon the German people: generosity.

The upright-minded German always assumed that his partners, comrades-in-arms, and opponents shared a similar mindset, so that he overlooked finely woven intrigues, conspiracies, and acts of treachery until they plunged him into major conflicts: this dangerous yet magnificent character trait is portrayed in larger-than-life form in Siegfried, who was ready to help everyone and, with brilliant innocence, extended his hand even to his bitterest enemies—until the treacherous spear thrust struck him down.

But—and this, too, is a law of life: the traitors somehow perish as a result of their own deeds, precisely because they gnaw away at and bring down the living pillars of great moral values, for then there is no longer any possible form of life, but only conspiracy, a struggle of all against all.

Yet from such a deep fall, this magnanimity—linked to immense strength—often rises once more into mighty wrath; then the Levantine mentality, the sophistry, cowers, hissing as it professes its "goodwill."

We have seen after such uprisings that, following victory, this magnanimity resurfaced and deprived the warrior of the fruits of his success: this is the situation we find ourselves in today.

All the enemies of the German ideal—united for decades, even centuries—have, especially since March 5th, donned a cloak of protection, emphasizing their "willingness to rebuild," acknowledging the popular uprising, and speaking once more of Germany's great traditions - they, who until recently denounced the ideal of heroism as "the stupidest of all ideals," now rave about Potsdam; they, who reviled German soldiers as "professional" murderers, now praise the discipline of the German Reichswehr; they, who wanted to drive Adolf Hitler out of Germany with a dog whip, now praise his "great statesmanlike speech."

They have all felt the lashes of Hitler's whip, but they are far too cowardly to take a stand against it - no, they are now currying favor in Germany, renouncing all the international ties they once so often praised, while at the same time inciting all their kindred spirits and ideological allies against the awakened Germany in a manner that can only be compared to the propaganda of wartime horrors.

After all, the Einsteins and Feuchtwangers were and remain, after all, the deified luminaries of the Berlin and Frankfurt streets, who have never been anything other than what they appear to be today.

The danger for the German nation, then, lies in the fact that its magnanimity is once again being successfully appealed to; that it is expected to forget everything, to forgive all the unrestrained insults against Germany, to no longer think of the November betrayal, and to let the 300 dead of our movement remain buried forever.

Now that all external resistance has become impossible, they want to achieve as "friends" what they were unable to achieve as enemies: the predominantly physical threat has been replaced by a psychological one.

The harmless citizen may rejoice at the "change of heart" of certain newspapers and place their editors on the same level as the emerging insight of decent, if merely confused, fellow citizens - here, then, the NSDAP must now remain vigilant.

It must not show any false magnanimity, but must steadfastly uphold its principles in the face of shameless agitation and equally shameless pandering, and increasingly put them into practice: not through “pogroms,” not by “knocking out teeth” or “gouging out eyes,” as the Jewish community around the world falsely claims, but through legal state measures that leave no doubt whatsoever that the German has once again become master in his own house, which was stolen from him in 1918.

As for the other states, however, we draw their attention to the fact that these regulations governing German life are a purely internal political matter of the German Reich, in which we must, once and for all, refuse any interference.

We take the liberty, however, of pointing out something else as well: when 600 Jewish organizations in New York address a demand to the governments of the United States and other nations to take diplomatic action against Germany, to impose a boycott of German goods, or even to consider armed intervention, such a demand constitutes the greatest possible insolence in world politics - after all, are the nations of the world supposed to be the executive organs of a Jewish community threatened in its delicate supremacy, regardless of whether they also have vital interests tied to the German Reich?!

It will be interesting to see how this defiant attempt to demean nations in the name of special Jewish interests will turn out: perhaps it is precisely this demand that will awaken an understanding of the necessity to purify German life?!

It is nothing short of a miracle that nothing has actually happened to the Jews in Germany, that only gradually are the rights stolen from the Germans in politics and culture being restored, as, given the fourteen years of open abuse directed at Germany, the Jewish people would have deserved a very different fate.

In any case, the message for us now is: do not soften, but remain firm and just; not “generous,” but vigilant at all times.

This is the guiding principle for the work ahead, and the NSDAP will also complete this second stage of its mission.

## The End of the Center Party

From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 2nd–3rd, 1933

The Center Party leadership has now preempted the efforts to dissolve the party from within its own ranks—efforts that had become unstoppable—and announced its dissolution.

Although this has not yet been made official by the party, the final article in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* of July 1st leaves no doubt that the history of the Center Party has come to an end today: in a somewhat elegiac reflection, the Center Party's official newspaper states that the party has left a visible mark on the annals of German history, and that its members have always been spoken of with honor.

Now, a few days ago, we stated that we do not wish to kick a man when he is down, and that we treat the downfall of the Center Party without any personal bitterness; nevertheless, simple historical truth compels us to note that, despite its many devoted members and a number of personally honorable Center Party leaders, the party itself was never, in the full sense of the word, a German party.

Bismarck had defined the Center Party as a “battery of breach artillery directed against the state,” and the Center Party carried out this activity for decades—initially in a secondary cultural struggle against Marxist atheism, but later in the closest alliance with it.

The entire dreadful history of the past fourteen years is inconceivable without the Center Party's leadership, and such political and economic corruption would never have occurred had the Center Party not, under the leadership of Matthias Erzberger as early as 1917, formed an alliance with the treasonous leadership of Dittmann, Crispian, and their comrades.

German history will later establish that this Center Party was internally torn apart: on the one hand, thanks to its spiritual leadership, it was bound to uphold Christian principles and advocate for moral and business integrity, but on the other hand, the desire for power among these very same leaders was so strong that they unscrupulously disregarded the very principles they themselves had proclaimed.

This duplicity ultimately took its toll not only on the German state and its leadership but also on the Center itself: the major scandal at the Görres House<sup>51</sup>—unprecedented in the history of the German press—the appalling corruption at the Leo House in Munich under the supervision of Monsignor Walterbach<sup>52</sup>, the sordid affairs in which Center leader Esser appears to have been implicated, and a large number of similar incidents that have not come to light, all demonstrate that one cannot get away with playing an organized double game for decades.

We cannot exonerate the Center Party from having contributed to the events of November 9th, 1918; we cannot exonerate the Center from having served as an instigator for the enemy in the person of Matthias Erzberger; we cannot exonerate it from having pursued the entire terrible policy of subjugation, and finally, the Center bears the immense guilt of having simultaneously joined forces with Marxism to suppress the German freedom movement: we must remember that even one of the Center Party's finest leaders, Dr. Brüning, sought to prevent the rise of the National Socialist movement by disbanding our

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<sup>51</sup> The Görreshaus trial took place in August 1933 and was directed at the Görreshaus publishing house, who also published the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* newspaper; the trial was over financial mismanagement. - The Translator

<sup>52</sup> The Leohaus scandal took place in May 1933, which saw the central headquarters for Catholic social organizations be involved in massive amounts of embezzlement. - The Translator

means of self-defense against murderous Marxism—our SA and SS—and in doing so dared to present this persecution in the Reichstag as a necessity of state.

The German Revolution under Adolf Hitler's leadership has now swept over all these parties and men, has struck down the Center Party's red allies so that they will never rise again, and now the law of history is unfolding: the Center Party, which had allied itself with Marxism, has now proven itself incapable of resistance, and is sinking into oblivion today without any intervention by the powers that be.

The Center is dying like a weary old man from a lack of inner strength and a loss of inner conviction, and with this, sixty years of German history have come to a close; at the same time, however, an obstacle to the Germans' development into a nation has been removed, and the new Germany will ensure that the Center never rises again.

We wish to draw attention specifically to this point because the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* published an editorial in which it twice, with obvious intent, characterized National Socialism merely as a copy of Fascism, and referred to forms of government that are dependent on the times (!) - thus, the editorial somewhat imprudently expressed the hope that the National Socialist wave would pass.

We wish to warn against these hopes, which could all too easily lead to action: in Bavaria, the Center Party has had a small foretaste of how the new state intends to defend itself against such attempts at sabotage, and it will continue to ensure that the new foundation of the state is built without compromise. The *Kölnische Volkszeitung* concludes its farewell article with the following words:

*“And so the German Center Party vanishes, enveloped in the gentle glow of the setting sun, on the horizon like a ship heading for distant shores, accompanied by the breath of memories and the gratitude of those who loved it: long live Germany!”*

We would like to add that the Center Party's ship has been driven out into an endless sea, where it is sinking, and that the only conciliatory element is the final sentence—that Germany should live on. We endorse this: for Germany to live on, the Center Party had to sink.

## The End of the Political Parties

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 7th, 1933 - the dignified tone of this political obituary is indicative of the movement's inner character, which has always refused to deliver the familiar "kick while down" to its defeated opponent.**

With the decision—finally reached on Wednesday evening—to dissolve the Center Party, a historical development spanning nearly a century has come to an end.

Born out of the desire to represent the people, Germany drew on the ideas of the French Revolution, and thus the diverse electoral systems—which had now taken shape in the German states, and later also for the Reichstag in the anonymous form of a secret, direct election—dominated the political life of the German nation; an ever-increasing number of parties eventually caused ever greater confusion in the public mind, and once all the consequences of the inherently anti-natural principle of such secret mass elections had been fully realized since 1919, the rise of the parties marked the beginning of the dissolution of the party state itself.

The Weimar party system swallowed up the Weimar Republic, and the victorious policies of the Führer, who for 14 years tirelessly denounced corruption as a necessary consequence of parliamentary life, accelerated this process, because the German nation increasingly felt that this form of popular representation did not correspond to its nature, and that—as in all areas—the natural order was one of leaders and followers - thus, this principle must also prevail in political life.

On this day, we recall all the persecution and harassment to which the German freedom movement was subjected over the course of 14 years, and at the same time, as we celebrate our victory, we note that this entire struggle against National Socialism lacked any sense of magnanimity or dignity: it was a petty policy of pinprick attacks, a condoning of the most undignified and petty harassment, an outburst of Marxist bloodlust, yet nowhere did our opponents demonstrate a grand vision of the state, a strong conviction, or a great personality.

And so, the Weimar party system has now vanished without a trace, not a single true leader has passionately stood up to defend it: Otto Braun, the former "tsar" of Red Prussia, fled across the border in the most pitiful manner, and the other leaders of the Social Democratic Party have also followed him into exile, and are now striving to incite the entire hostile world against Germany through a deceitful and vile smear campaign; meanwhile, communism, the most active offshoot of the Marxist movement, has been crushed, and all its attempts to reorganize will meet with vigilant and unwavering resistance.

The German National People's Party has voluntarily dissolved itself, and the national forces—which are valuable in and of themselves—will cast off the dross of a reactionary clinging to the past, and will gradually be integrated into the great task for the future that has been set before the National Socialist movement.

With the Center Party and the Bavarian People's Party, the seemingly unshakable bulwark of what had been Germany's most firmly established party is now crumbling just as meekly and without conviction: this decision was very difficult for the Center Party, but the pressure from its supporters has convinced its leaders here as well of the necessity that the Center Party, too, is a long-outlived relic of the past, and was heading toward its end one way or another.

However, a telling sign of the actual intellectual state of affairs—if we are to set aside the Christian Socialists in Austria for the moment—is the fact that the Center Party in Danzig has refused to dissolve itself as well, as they are evidently striving to hold on to this last bastion by any means necessary and are exploiting the peculiar international situation of the Free State of Danzig to do so; National Socialism therefore has every reason to monitor with particular care the political phenomena emerging following the dissolution of all parties, so that the masses—now numbering in the millions and having lost their organizational structure—may gradually be integrated, if not yet politically, then at least socially, into the structures that have emerged under the new state through the Labor Front, the Reich Leadership of German Youth, and so on.

Herein lies the great challenge for the coming years, perhaps even decades: the establishment of a new basis of life for all Germans.

This is a task that we know full well cannot be achieved quickly, for even if the process of political dissolution is the result of the internal constitutional disintegration of the old parties, the transformation in a positive sense will still require much effort, which can only succeed fully when the younger generation grows into the new state structure from the outset, unburdened by the remnants of the past.

An era has now come to an end, one that did not pass away amid the lightning and thunder of truly great struggles, but sank away, rotten and incapable of resistance: following this collapse, the new German life is moving beyond the past.

## Memories of November 9th, 1923

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, November 8th, 1933 - Alfred Rosenberg's role in November 1923 is generally very little known, and the following account, published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* exactly ten years after the March on the Feldherrnhalle, depicts the fateful events of that time with the calm vividness characteristic of true historical writing.**

The psychological tension, which had already made itself felt in an agonizing way throughout Germany in early fall, grew ever more intense as September and October wore on: week after week, day after day, inflation eroded the German people's wealth; thousands of suicides stood as horrific testimony to a mood of despair and doom; an outward display of servility deepened this feeling, and a burning desire swept through the masses to bring it all to an end, no matter what form that end might take.

Adolf Hitler found himself facing a fateful situation: on the one hand, a desperate public mood, and on the other, a passionate will to resist—both within himself and within his own burgeoning movement.

Thirdly, however, the particularist current was becoming increasingly evident—one that sought to exploit the plight of the entire people and the Reich to carry out the old plan of separating the south from northern Germany, thereby securing the agricultural regions and leaving the north, with its predominantly industrial population, to chaos and the ensuing attacks from outside.

All these sentiments, plans, and conspiracies were swirling around Munich at the time, and Adolf Hitler had to make a decision if he was to become not merely the object of others' politics, but an active agent himself - thus, during those October days, meetings took place time and again between the Führer and his SA sub-leaders; the office of the *Völkischer Beobachter* served as a hub for these gatherings, and representatives from Bavarian districts—as well as members of parliament from other German states—came and went there incessantly.

About a week before that fateful day, Adolf Hitler, Göring, and I met at Dr. von Scheubner-Richter's<sup>53</sup> apartment: there, naturally, we discussed the upcoming operation, its possibilities, and its prospects.

The conversation also turned to a parade that the Bavarian Crown Prince was to review during those days: the parade was to take place on Marstallstraße in front of the Residenzkirche, and all dignitaries of the Bavarian state, units of the Bavarian Division, as well as units of our SA, were to participate; I suggested that, under certain circumstances, the parade on Marstallstraße might provide the opportunity to carry out the planned coup quickly and painlessly.

Marstallstraße is a short connecting street between the Hofgarten and Maximilianstraße; a rapid blockade from Maximilianstraße after our SA marched past, combined with a combat squad suddenly rolling in from the Hofgarten, might have provided the opportunity to apprehend Minister President von Knilling, State Commissioner von Kahr, and all the dignitaries of the Bavarian state at that time; the Führer was then to approach the Crown Prince, politely apologize to him for having disrupted the parade, while at the same time explaining that, in the interest of all of Germany and to prevent Bolshevik chaos or a separatist regime, this step was also necessary in Bavaria's interest.

A lengthy debate ensued over this idea, as the plan for the entire situation was sketched out on a large sheet of paper and discussed in detail - naturally, many reservations arose regarding the possibilities,

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<sup>53</sup> Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter, early National Socialist and one of the martyrs who fell during the Beer Hall Putsch. - The Translator

particularly the element of surprise, but the plan was nevertheless considered, and its execution was made contingent on the prevailing situation.

In any case, the mood was resolute: to bring this to an end one way or another.

On this occasion, Röhm also recounted with a laugh that he had cleaned his revolver the day before, and a shot had accidentally gone off, lodging in his bookcase, which had struck none other than my book, *The Track of the Jew Through the Ages*: to superstitious minds, this seemed to be a certain sign.

When the parade took place in front of the Crown Prince, I went there to assess the situation, but it unfortunately became clear that the Bavarian government—perhaps anticipating certain possibilities—had deployed an exceptionally strong security force: the entire Hofgarten was lined with armed police, so that any attempt to penetrate this secured area would inevitably have led to major clashes, with no possibility of a surprise attack.

Apparently, the SA leadership had also anticipated this situation, and so no coup took place that day, although the possibility had been exceptionally close: it is difficult to determine whether such a daring act in broad daylight might not have created a different situation in Bavaria than that which prevailed in the late hours of November 8th, when the darkness made it difficult to carry out the necessary actions, including those of a political nature.

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In any case, that day passed without a decision; the negotiations continued, and finally, on November 8th at 11:30 a.m., Adolf Hitler came to my room and said to me: “Rosenberg, it starts tonight! Kahr will give his government speech, and then we’ll all meet up at the ‘Bürgerbräu’: would you like to come along?” I replied, “Of course!”; it was then agreed that the Führer would pick me up in his car that evening. I immediately drafted a proclamation, which was quite forceful in tone, and in fact, it appeared the very next day in the *Völkischer Beobachter*: I later always wondered why the responsibility for this particular appeal—of all things—had not been placed on my shoulders as the newspaper’s editor-in-chief, but it was apparently assumed that it originated from the newly formed government, and had simply been submitted to the *Völkischer Beobachter* for publication.

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An hour later, after the Führer had left, a foreign journalist whom I had known for years visited me and told me the following: he had just met Prime Minister von Knilling on the street and taken a short walk with him; Knilling had told him that a revolution led by Hitler was imminent, that he didn’t know what to do, but the fact itself was certain; the foreigner then asked me whether this was really true, to which I, of course, replied in the most indifferent manner possible that it was not.

And so, that afternoon of November 8th passed amid the most varied preparations: the entire printing staff and editorial board of the *Völkischer Beobachter* were put on alert on the grounds that Kahr’s major speech had to be published in detail that very night, as it was of decisive importance.

At about a quarter to eight, Adolf Hitler appeared in my room: he was entirely serious and calm, and without a word, we got into his car and drove out to the “Bürgerbräukeller.”

The entire hall was packed; the State Commissioner was speaking in a monotonous tone about his plans and intentions, and Hitler and I stood at the entrance next to the column; we had already found Dr. Max von Scheubner-Richter there.

We stood there for another ten minutes listening to Kahr's speech when, suddenly, the door burst open with a loud crash, and a machine gun was rolled into the hall by heavily armed men; the machine gun was being pushed by the active detective inspector of the Bavarian police, Pg. Gerum, in a field-gray uniform: that was the signal to strike.

Adolf Hitler, his companion Graf, Dr. von Scheubner-Richter, and I drew our pistols from our pockets, released the safety catches, and the four of us—with Adolf Hitler in the lead—walked in complete silence toward the podium, where the State Commissioner stood, speechless; as Adolf Hitler stepped onto the podium, agitated shouts rose up toward him, along with cries of fear from those who had spotted the machine gun nearby - thus, the Führer, to restore order, fired a shot into the ceiling of the hall, and then silence fell.

Adolf Hitler spoke passionately about the mission of his movement, full of hope that what had driven him—a blinded soldier—into politics could now be realized; he then called on all people of good will to work with the new government, to build a new Germany of freedom.

There was then a brief pause, during which Adolf Hitler negotiated with von Kahr, General von Lossow, and Colonel Seisser; we then both escorted Minister President von Knilling to the door, and Adolf Hitler said to him, "Mr. Minister President, I'm sorry to have done this to you, but the fate of Germany made it necessary" - Knilling walked silently beside us, and was then led away.

After the pause, the three gentlemen—who would later play the well-known game—delivered their statements, which have since become part of history; Ludendorff, too, had arrived in the meantime from Prinz-Ludwigs-Höhe, and immediately declared his solidarity with the new government: with that, the official public ceremony was, so to speak, concluded, and the gentlemen returned to the conference room.

Around this time, reports came in from Infantry Barracks 19 that the troops there were refusing to open the gates for the revolution; Hitler felt compelled to intervene here to avoid any bloodshed if possible, and drove out to the barracks.

In the next half-hour, the course of events was decided: General von Lossow, Kahr, and Seisser had declared that they could now take all measures necessary to fulfill the solemnly made promises, and they shook hands with Ludendorff, giving their word that they would honor the future alliance; General Ludendorff—who would not tolerate a German officer breaking his word to him—then dismissed the gentlemen.

Shortly afterward, Adolf Hitler returned, and when he heard what had happened, his intuition likely already told him what course the gentlemen who had just left would take, for it was crystal clear that the leaders of the Bavarian government had immediately turned to the Reich government to crush the fledgling uprising with its help and that of all other forces: the details of that night were discussed in the confidential court sessions on Blumenburgstraße, and it is up to the Führer to determine whether and when the records of those hours can be made public.

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The “Reichskriegsflagge” had taken up residence in the War Ministry building on Ludwigstraße, and the entire building had become a veritable military barracks: soldiers were standing and lying in every room, in every hallway, and on every flight of stairs.

Late at night, Ludendorff sat with his advisors, pale and deeply serious, no doubt also aware that something had happened that, from a political standpoint, should never have been done; meanwhile, Captain Röhm lay on the floor, his head resting on a knapsack, with the typical equanimity of a seasoned soldier who accepted this “coup” night as a deliverance from many doubts and as a matter of course. Singing soldiers—our SA—paraded through the streets of Munich; the people there cheered us on, and everything gave the impression that, despite the onset of dark machinations, a popular uprising was taking place here - early morning, however, would bring the clear realization that the Bavarian government, with the help of the gentlemen who had switched sides, was concentrating troops from the provinces on Munich in order to launch a counterattack against the awakening people.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* also received all sorts of reports to this effect, and by the early morning hours, as the printing presses rolled out the first editions of the German Revolution, the political situation looked more than bleak, for although the proclamation drafted by the new government announced at every street corner that the new government had convened with the new leaders, it struck all readers that there was no mention of them having signed this proclamation.

In the early morning hours, diligent hands working for the Bavarian government were already posting the famous leaflet against “Prussian Ludendorff” on the pillars; by mid-morning, the hostile announcements were displayed side by side on Munich’s bulletin boards.

The tension had risen to an unbearable level for everyone: I had been away from the “Bürgerbräu” for several hours to make further arrangements for noon at the editorial office, and did not drive back there until 11 a.m., together with Dietrich Eckart and our printer, Müller.

As we drove down Ludwigstraße, no one bothered us, but at that very moment a huge yellow-gray-green monstrosity was already taking up position at the center of the five-way intersection on Odeonsplatz: an armored car.

Gray figures with automatic rifles in hand were already swarming out from the various streets, so we knew what was happening: a cordoning off of the entire city center, which was apparently linked to a simultaneous operation encircling the “Bürgerbräu” and the entire suburbs.

When we pulled up in front of the “Bürgerbräu,” the entire column was already lined up and ready to march into the city; Adolf Hitler, pale and grave, stood next to Dr. von Scheubner-Richter.

I greeted Dr. von Scheubner-Richter with a handshake, and he said to me, “Things are looking grim!” - those were his last words, for three-quarters of an hour later, a German bullet had struck him dead.

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As the procession set off, Müller said to me, “Mr. Rosenberg, please don’t go along—it’s pure suicide.” - at that moment, however, no one was asking themselves anymore whether it was suicide or not.

I took my place in the second row, and we marched off: in the middle of the first row, the Führer walked alongside Ludendorff, Göring, Graf, and Streicher, and on the other side, I noticed Albrecht von Gräfe<sup>54</sup>,

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<sup>54</sup> A far-right politician who temporarily allied with Hitler at the time; he was never a member of the NSDAP. - The Translator

Feder, and Kriebel; to my right marched Arno Schickedanz, and to my left, Pg. Körner, then the second chairman of the NSDAP.

The procession was enthusiastically greeted by the people, who had not yet fully grasped the true state of affairs: a swastika flag hung down from City Hall on Marienplatz, and a dense stream of Munich's population accompanied us down Weinstraße, then into Perusastraße, and suddenly we turned onto Residenzstraße.

Patriotic songs were sung behind us, and to our right and left, two flag bearers carried the flags - then, about 200 paces before the enemy line of shooters, the flagstaff of the right-hand flag bearer suddenly broke, and at that moment I had to think of the story Röhm had told about the pistol shot, as recounted earlier.

Apart from me, hardly anyone knew what the situation was like on Residenzstraße: hardly anyone knew anything about the large armored car on Odeonsplatz, or about the firing lines there with their submachine guns, but it was clear what was coming - nevertheless, the entire leadership of the NSDAP, along with their loyal friends, marched at the front, virtually unarmed, and only some distance behind them came a few units of the SA. with rifles shouldered, unprepared for street fighting—which, in any case, seemed out of the question, given that the leadership was marching ahead.

It was a psychological ploy that General Ludendorff had devised, as he assumed that German soldiers would not fire on the general and the leaders of the German freedom movement; to make it clear to the Bavarian government's gray-uniformed riflemen that Ludendorff was leading the march, Julius Streicher also marched about thirty paces ahead of the front and shouted to the state police: "Ludendorff is marching with us—don't shoot!"

While it is possible that these words caused a slight delay in the events, in any case, General Ludendorff marched at a brisk pace through the ranks of the shooters, and fire was opened at very close range: naturally, a violent commotion then broke out among the crowd, and we were all knocked to the ground, including Adolf Hitler, who severely dislocated his arm in the fall.

What unfolded next did not last long, but those few minutes decided the course of the German Revolution—memorable moments, for after them the dynamics of the movement had changed, and the work ahead had to begin from an entirely new perspective.

The state police fired into the front lines, not only from the front, as submachine guns also rattled from the high, narrow side of the Feldherrnhalle, their rounds clattering against the asphalt or the bullets burrowing into the bodies of the National Socialist leadership; in the tumult, I ended up lying on top of a comrade—whose identity I still do not know to this day.

In any case, this had elevated me noticeably above the general fray, allowing me to observe the events closely: on the right side of our platoon lay Hermann Göring, apparently wounded, and he rolled, seeking cover, behind the Bavarian lion at the Residenzapotheke; it also seemed that some were already lying dead, though I couldn't tell for sure everywhere.

Behind me, one of our shooters had lain down and was firing intensely into the line of Bavarian police; after every shot, he ducked behind me, apparently having judged me to be a good human shield, and I said to him: "Stop that—it's all become pointless now!", because I had absolutely no desire for the police, who were still firing, to gradually become aware of this shooter, who was still concealed.

Shortly afterward, I saw Hitler raise an arm and shout back, "Don't shoot!" - then the shooting subsided, and people began to stand up.

I walked back slowly, and there were many dead bodies lying there: a comrade lay across the sidewalk with his skull blown open, his smoking brain oozing out, yet he was still taking his last breaths; if I recall correctly, that was Private von Stransky.

On Max-Joseph-Platz, now deserted, at the rear of the central post office, I saw a car driving slowly across the square: there in the front seat sat Adolf Hitler with an impassive expression, and in the back seat was a small, bleeding boy who had apparently also been struck by a bullet fired by government troops.

Hitler drove slowly past the SA men who were still forming a guard of honor; they greeted him with a quiet but firm “Heil.”

At noon and in the evening of that day, Munich was in a state the city had likely never known before: thousands poured through the streets, singing patriotic songs; a single protest against the government and the Marxists made its way through the crowd, and from the steps of the National Theater, one indignant speech after another rang out; the mounted police found no way to intervene.

The unarmed crowd stood before the rifles and told the officers to go ahead and shoot, so that all this humiliation might finally come to an end.

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Only years later did Pg. Streicher recount an episode he had witnessed, one that is truly indicative of the spirit that prevailed in Munich on the afternoon and evening of November 9th, 1923.

At a street corner, Comrade Streicher spotted a group of party comrades led by the late Comrade Stier; there standing before them was a group of heavily armed police, whom Comrade Stier furiously ordered to hold their hands up and allow themselves—along with all their comrades—to be taken away in that manner.

Stier shouted at them: “You can shoot us all, but we won’t let you take us away with our hands raised like criminals!” - this courageous stance ultimately resulted in our comrades being led away with honor.

Many SA units stationed in Munich were taken away that evening, and the halls of Munich’s main train station witnessed impassioned speeches fueled by a deep hatred for what had been done to Germany on November 9th, 1923, at the Feldherrnhalle.

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When we look back on the bloody events at the Feldherrnhalle, we must acknowledge—despite our deep sorrow for our comrades who fell there—that their sacrificial deaths were not in vain, for the mere fact that, at the decisive moment, the movement’s leadership had fulfilled its promise to fight for this movement even at the cost of their lives has earned us the respect of both our opponents and our supporters.

Admittedly, in the years that followed, the Marxist-Jewish press repeatedly attempted to interpret the Führer’s words—“Tomorrow will find me either victorious or dead”—in a mocking manner - but these gentlemen, who have now cowardly fled, had forgotten that Adolf Hitler had, after all, been delivered into the hands of the reactionaries along with all his leaders, and that the old commanders had not lacked the will to put the entire leadership of the NSDAP to death.

Sixteen comrades died there, and many others were forced to spend months in hospitals, hovering between life and death; all other leaders were wanted by the police, and the continuation of the party was threatened with the harshest prison sentences: only with the greatest determination were the loyalists gradually tracked down again and provisionally brought together under a different name, in order to create the conditions for the National Socialist movement to be revived after this interim period. I personally confess that, even immediately after the collapse, I did not for a single minute give up my faith in our cause, and I am convinced that this was also the case for everyone else, despite their understandable despondency.

The National Socialist revolution, which—driven by the mood and the necessity of the moment—sought to seize state power in a single leap, had failed in this form; it thus differed entirely from the Fascist revolution in its subsequent conduct of the struggle, for while the latter, after a successful uprising, had to educate the nation that had been left behind from within the state—that is, from above—Adolf Hitler's movement had to start entirely from the bottom up, from scratch: it had to represent our worldview in opposition to the state, and it had to undergo a school of the strictest discipline and the greatest sacrifice. While this was initially a necessity imposed from above, this later proved, through struggle and sacrifice, to be a beneficial process of selection, as it made it possible to select people of strong character and resolve from all German regions, to forge them into inseparable comrades through shared work, and to establish that unity of thought in all areas through the practice of life itself, rather than through decrees of the state.

It was November 9th, 1923, gave rise to January 30th, 1933 - thus, when we commemorate this day, we honor those men who gave their lives for the German cause.

When Adolf Hitler became Reich Chancellor and we congratulated him, he flew to Munich immediately afterward; I had the honor of accompanying him on this beautiful flight.

As we flew over Landshut and the other Bavarian cities, he must have been thinking earnestly of that November 9th, 1923, which had now been avenged.

The next morning, Adolf Hitler laid a huge wreath on the steps leading to the Feldherrnhalle, bearing the inscription: "And yet you have triumphed!"

From the tall flagpole, 20 steps from the spot where the National Socialists once lay in their own blood, the swastika banner now flutters, and day and night, the SA and SS stand loyal guard over the great wreath until the day when a monument will be erected on the narrow side of the Feldherrnhalle in memory of those who sacrificed themselves for Germany's freedom on November 9th, 1923.

## For the New Reich

*“You who carry the flags and banners and march behind them, be aware that you are fighting for the greatest cause for which Germany has ever fought in the past 1,000 years, and do not forget the one who gave you both the idea and the symbol: Hitler!”*

- Alfred Rosenberg in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 8th, 1926, at the conclusion of the Weimar Party Congress



The march to the Feldherrnhalle on November 9th, 1933; behind the Führer in the second row is Alfred Rosenberg

## Introduction to the NSDAP Program

**This passage serves as the introduction to the treatise *Essence, Principles and Goals of the NSDAP*<sup>55</sup>, which was published as early as 1923.**

**At that time, it had become apparent that the movement's earliest supporters were urgently calling for a clear exposition of National Socialist ideology; consequently, Alfred Rosenberg authored this treatise, which can claim the distinction of being the first official publication of the National Socialist Party: we therefore include its introduction here as a lasting memorial to the early days of the German revival.**

If a nation has suffered great misfortune, but still yet possesses truly vibrant spiritual powers, then finding a clear answer to the question of the deeper reasons for its decline becomes the first condition for its rebirth.

The mere fact that a Reich as great as Germany's was able to stand up to the whole world, only to then collapse and—after this collapse—reveal the worst aspects of its former heroic spirit, forces every thinking person to ask the most serious questions - they will recognize that the spirit of petty-mindedness, the purely ego-centered “economic” thinking, the spirit of soulless internationalism combined with widespread conceit, may have publicly taken power on November 9th, 1918, but had already been rampant within the people for years, even decades. Numerous warning voices went unheard; driven by a demonic urge for purely technical and economic conquests, encouraged by material constraints (overpopulation, etc.), without the will to solve the problem of space and to act purposefully, the German people lost their mental balance and fell victim to seducers who exploited their shallow state of mind, to instill teachings that poisoned the people (humanist culture, internationalism, pacifism, parliamentarianism, etc.).

The national revolution against this pathological state of affairs brought about the days of August 1914, along with all the heroic deeds of the German people, both in the field and at home; despite this, however, the pathogens were too deeply ingrained, and through them, worn down by suffering and hunger, this proud edifice, the dream of centuries, collapsed in a few days to make way for a system and men whose existence became a mockery of an old, great past - a mockery of Germanism itself.

Now the great turning point has come, when it must be decided whether Central Europe will be inhabited only by a mixture of people who happen to speak the German language, but otherwise no longer have a common heartbeat, or whether, out of the deepest shame, old idealism will still be able to rise up and forge 80 million people into a community of blood, *völk*, and destiny. In the first case, the downfall—a deserved downfall—is sealed; but in the second, no power in the world will be able to prevent the resurrection of Germany.

The National Socialists oppose all materialistic, commercial, and mammonistic ideas with a belief in idealistic forces, and calls for a conscious, ruthless struggle against the powers that, in part, consciously promoted Germany's decline and, also in part, were too weak to oppose it, yet still claim rights of dominion over the German people. Without money or possessions, the struggle has begun with this belief

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<sup>55</sup> This book has been translated to English, and can be read here:  
<https://archive.org/details/essence-principles-and-goals-of-the-nsdap> - The Translator

alone - against all parties. Whether “right” or “left,” they all suffered, and continue to suffer, from such fundamental flaws that they are equally guilty of the misfortune of the German people.

One fatal mistake was allowing the terms “national” and “social” to be distorted; the circles and parties that claimed to defend the most precious assets of the people all too often did so only in terms of foreign policy. In domestic politics, they often regarded rank, status, and money as sufficient advantages to look down on their fellow citizens in work clothes as second-class citizens. The fellow citizen was not valued as such, but as an economic object; this class snobbery became a welcome means of agitation in the hands of foreign demagogues.

This evil was compounded by the equation of dynasty with national interest - there had undoubtedly been times when the personality of the king or emperor was also the guarantor of the entire Reich. However, the fact that this state of affairs became a permanent principle of compulsory belief promoted a Byzantine culture that sought to cover up all the weaknesses of the imperial government and, in this way, albeit unintentionally, strengthened the opponents of the German state. People had forgotten that the community, their interests, their welfare, and their honor, had to take precedence over the personality of the monarch - from this, foreign policy often became anti-national and anti-social.

These enemies were joined by an increasingly widespread unworldliness among the educated classes - the one-sided interest in the gravest antiquity, in the science of the Orient, in abstract, bloodless principles, widened the gap between the intellectual worker — that is to say, the national intelligentsia, which was called upon to lead a people in its struggles for life — and the manual laborer; this gave unscrupulous elements and foreign agitators the opportunity to exploit the hardships of the starving classes for purposes quite different from those they pretended to serve. The preaching of class struggle thus fell on fertile ground, and for decades, its representatives have not let a day go by without attempting to reopen the wounds in the German national body.

German workers saw themselves separated from their kindred intellectual class, and believed in the doctrine of eternal class struggle as a law of nature; they heard many emissaries from foreign nations saying the same things as their domestic leaders and believed in the equality of all people and in the solidarity of the proletariat of all countries; they saw the injustice of the machine age manifested daily and believed in a just future state; they felt that visible capital ruled the world; they saw their often unpopular entrepreneurs before their eyes every day, and believed in the necessity of overthrowing all capital, with the goal of salvation through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In addition to pursuing seemingly ideal goals, Marxism understood how to interfere with its very essence and distort these socialist ideas that had been in flux long before it and had previously grown organically - while preaching equality between Germans, French, Jews, and Chinese, he taught bloody struggle between different classes within the same people, thus refuting himself from the outset; while it described property not only occasionally, as had been the case in the past, but fundamentally as theft (completely concealing the logical absurdity that where there is no property, the concept of theft cannot exist), it taught nothing other than personal enrichment at the expense of others.

Marxism pretended to fight usurious global capitalism, yet since its inception it has worked hand in hand with major international banks and stock exchanges - to this day. November 9th, 1918, was the stock market revolution carried out by anti-capitalist, plundered, and incited workers, with the long-pursued goal of playing Germany's national industry and agriculture, which had not yet been completely taken over by the world banks, into the hands of supranational loan capital - that was the purpose of the struggle against these down-to-earth economic forces in Germany, as waged by “anti-capitalist” Marxism in conjunction with plutocratic democracy; that was also the purpose of the Social Democrats' voting against

all usury laws, stock exchange taxes, luxury taxes, etc. in the Reichstag since 1880. The aim was not the welfare of the people, but rather the deliberate and systematic cultivation of injustice in order to be able to organize the troops of the revolution, with the help of discontent thus fostered.

This was the greatest deception of the 19th century, which finally triumphed in Moscow in November 1917 and in Berlin in November 1918: the anti-capitalist world revolution, led by servants of world capital.<sup>56</sup>

Marxism was not socialism equaling the community spirit, but only a covert mockery; Marxism was not a challenge to the materialism of the age, but the crowning glory of this mammonistic idea; Marxism was not an economic struggle at all, but a declared struggle for power and culture against all the peoples of Europe. Marxism falsified the ideas of internationalism, class struggle, and pacifism into the socialist principle, which had nothing to do with them.

This enormous global deception was only made possible by the fact that, in the course of the 19th century, the leadership of both international capitalism and Marxism was in the hands of representatives of one and the same people: the Jews. Thus, Marxism was, and ultimately still is, a race struggle.

Freed from almost all inhibitions by the French Revolution and its effects in other countries, the Jewish character had the same effect as in previous centuries - tenacious energy, unscrupulousness, international solidarity in the face of civil equality, innate parasitism... all of this formed the basis for Jewish financial domination, under whose sign we stand today.

In order to neutralize the rising dangers of the nascent labor movement, the Jewish high-capitalist banking world "supported" Marxism, founded "workers" newspapers, built union halls, incited hatred against entrepreneurs and peasants, and incited one religious denomination against another in order to rule through division! That is why, for decades, Jews or insignificant people who are bound to the existence of their party, for better or worse, and evil careerists, who exist in every nation, have held leading positions in all workers' parties in all countries. To a very small extent, there were also unworldly dreamers among these leaders; they were just as harmful as the conscious deceivers.

The sins of peasants and industrialists played into the hands of the fraudsters, and for decades now, the economic and political struggle has been fought on the wrong front: instead of entrepreneurs and workers recognizing their ethnic, political, and economic unity and, based on this recognition, turning against a shifting bank capital that weighs on all peoples, along with corrosive stock market speculation, they waged a bitter war against each other for the benefit and welfare of the laughing third party: the stock market Jew and his uncircumcised brothers in spirit.

That is why the National Socialists declare war on these banking consortia, which already dominate almost everything today; we declare war not just on their owners, but also on every single industrialist or peasant who forgets his national duty in favor of self-interest - it is precisely against them that we wage a ruthless war, because these pests distort the necessity of a nationally bound economy: protection of the national economy, and war against its despoilers.

National Socialism sees its mortal enemy in the crudely materialistic Marxist worldview, which replaced the concept of quality with the purely material concept of quantity; which denied the value of the creative personality and called on the masses, and which made national and political lies its principle (with party affiliation playing only a secondary role). Overcoming and destroying this worldview, and rendering its

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<sup>56</sup> The acceptance of the Dawes dictate on August 29th, 1924, was the keystone in the decades-long political construction of the world republic.

main representatives harmless in every respect, is one of the most important goals of the NSDAP - only when this has been achieved will the way be clear for a German Reich, for a truly German fatherland.

It should now be clear why the new popular movement bears the name of the National Socialist German Workers' Party - it is national, nationalistic, with all the fervor of a new experience built on an ancient, only buried essence; it is socialist in the recognition that the co-creator, co-builder of a state should not, at best, be thrown a social handout (as was the case with the liberal state), but that the state as such has a duty to supervise everything that all its citizens need. In the further recognition that none of this can be realized until the germ that poisons our blood and our soul has been rendered harmless—the Jew and the Jewish spirit born of him, with its followers from the German camp—the ruthless struggle against these seducers of the German people was taken up; that means that, at the same time, there is also a struggle by all those who work productively, both mentally and physically, against the drones and parasites. For National Socialism, there are neither “proletarians” nor “citizens” as two mortal enemy classes - only Germans as comrades in blood and destiny: creative Germans.

The current era of great turning points in our destiny has given rise to a new view of the world, history, and the state, which, although not yet clearly formulated, is already clearly defined in its direction - we no longer recognize history as the “eternal development of humanity,” whether toward humanity, the Christianization of all peoples, or some imagined “human culture”; nor do we view it as a crude class struggle, but as a conflict between spiritual-racial powers, their environment and other races. The rise and fall of races is governed by the last great law of nature recognizable to us; disregard for it created the racial chaos that once destroyed the great Aryan cultures of India, Persia, Greece, and Rome. The self-awareness of European racialism embodied by the Germans is the innermost awakening of our present, that power of the soul that wants nothing more than to express itself in the firm belief that in this way it will create the most valuable thing it is capable of. After centuries of denying eternal nature, the völkisch National Socialist movement is once again consciously integrating itself into the laws of the eternal process of life - this awareness has given it strength and faith.

The movement calls itself a party out of the sober realization that such a declared power struggle against an entire world cannot be waged by non-partisan, all-reconciling associations, but only by bringing together clearly committed fighting personalities and energies. The number of such individuals is initially small and should never constitute the majority of the people, just as the fate of nations in world history has never been decided by majorities, only by determined minorities. Every organization, whether it calls itself a league, a circle, an association, or anything else, is always a party; yes, no matter how “non-partisan” it may behave and how much it may want to represent the “whole people”, since there are still millions today who do not want this “whole people,” the party as such still exists. As everywhere else, this is a matter of belief - National Socialism openly professes itself to be a fighting party that may never form a majority in terms of numbers, but it does so in the firm belief that it embodies a popular movement that will one day decide the fate of Germany and, beyond that, show other peoples the new paths of the future. At the moment, however, it is a matter of struggle, and struggle always means man against man, party against party.

Based on all these insights, the German people's uprising for freedom is called:

**the National Socialist German Workers' Party!**

## National Socialism in the Global Struggle

**This essay, which seems almost prophetic, appeared in the *Baltischer Beobachter* on January 27th, 1923, and was written for the 1923 Party Congress.**

**Alfred Rosenberg contributed fundamental essays or speeches to every Party Congress; they are inextricably linked to the historical record of these grand displays of the movement.**

National Socialism has fared as every great new idea does: ignored at first, then fought by all the powers of a degenerate age with slander, scorn, and violence—yet it has nevertheless grown into an avalanche. All the political parties and figures who have made a living by deceiving the German people watch in fury as they are increasingly exposed today: stunned and terrified, the decayed structures of the old national way of life stand there, unable to comprehend the new spirit of Germany's future; with hearts and minds ossified, they are incapable of even conceiving the idea that everyone must somehow bear responsibility for Germany's misfortune, that one must sense that today the impossible can become possible, and that the incompatible can, must, and will be united!

And so, everything that is awakening joins the new popular uprising, whose very existence already proves today that the hour of German freedom will one day strike, because within it, life has become that which alone is capable of giving birth to life: faith, a spirit of sacrifice, and an indomitable will to fight for a great idea.

Over the years, this purposeful energy has borne fruit, and reluctantly, opponents have been forced to grapple with the new popular movement; many scholars from all camps suddenly had the scales fall from their eyes, and the struggle between the powers of world politics and the forces of ideology suddenly appeared to them in a completely different light than before.

Increasingly in-depth articles appeared in a wide variety of newspapers, attempting to grapple with the awakening movement; at the same time, however, the smear campaign intensified, as one side called National Socialism big-capitalist, monarchist, and reactionary, another saw it as a perversion of communism, a third described it as a Bavarian separatist movement, and a fourth as extremely unitarian... And yet, it had answered only one question: what benefits the entire productive German people, and what is in keeping with their nature, without regard for high and low, right and left?

When old forms crumble and the time is ripe for a spiritual rebirth, then all lies and slander—yes, even all honest and convinced opposition—are in vain, and the new form grows, displaces, or crushes whatever stands in its way.

Many in Germany are fighting against us, and many are up in arms over “coups,” “planned murders,” and so on - but very few realize that National Socialism is far more dangerous to today's world than a coup, for it is the herald of a new era for all of Europe, for the white race as a whole.

The German struggle has once again become a global struggle, even though the German National Socialists are guided by nothing—absolutely nothing—other than boundless love for the German people - thus, we gather in one of the German people's darkest hours to profess our unwavering faith in this people, and to vow to devote all our strength to its resurrection from shame and disgrace: in this, final victory is assured.

## A Man

**After the movement collapsed on November 9th, 1923, the *Völkischer Beobachter* was also forced to cease publication; then, on February 18th, 1921, during Hitler's trial, Alfred Rosenberg wrote the following declaration of loyalty to Adolf Hitler in the *Großdeutsche Zeitung*.**

The hundreds of thousands who read Adolf Hitler's first speech in his defense will do so—even if they are his mortal enemies—only with deep emotional turmoil, for here, if anywhere, speaks a man who gave his very last drop of blood for his enslaved people, blinded to the point of madness.

Whether on the battlefields of France, before thousands of his enemies and friends, or before a court, he has remained the same everywhere: the Führer, the man who embodied the yearning of the best, who gave voice to their urges—through to action, and beyond action.

May his words resound from the courtroom as far as the German tongue reaches, so that he may firmly believe today that the German people understand him! A pledge of loyalty shall echo back to him from all German regions as an answer—a fervent thanks for his reawakening of the soul of our fallen nation...

As he was, so he remains today, as he stands tall and proud: "I alone bear the responsibility!"

Just as he volunteered for duty on the battlefield when the danger was greatest; just as he took up the seemingly hopeless struggle five years ago against the treachery perpetrated against our people; just as he led his troops unarmed on November 9th, so too did he stand before the court—before his act—as a man of integrity: a true man!

That was and is Adolf Hitler, and may he have this certainty in the difficult days ahead: that millions of German hearts beat even more strongly for him today than before, and that he is loved a thousand times more by the people, who have remained true to themselves, than at the time when, as a free man, he let the jubilant stormtroopers march past him.

If that squabbling pack of Munich democrats labels him a clown in court, they and their sad like-minded companions will be met only with the contempt of all Germans, for Adolf Hitler's mission is not over; rather, it is only just beginning.

His path leads through struggle, jubilation, pain, and despair, and if the "German" spirit is not merely a dream of a bygone past, but still slumbers as a spiritual force within the people, then this people will lift up its awakener—whether as a saint or as a leader—to the place where he belongs.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations may be, love and reverence will accompany with unwavering loyalty the man whose heart knows only one thing: the German fatherland, the German people, and German freedom!

## The People's Concept of the State

From the (out-of-print) work "Der völkische Staatsgedanke — Untergang und Neugeburt" (*The People's Concept of the State—Decline and Rebirth*)<sup>57</sup> by Alfred Rosenberg, Franz Eher-Verlag. 1923.

In times of peace, the division of opinion takes place almost imperceptibly: slowly, over the course of decades, an internal shift takes place regarding issues of worldview and the state, until, finally, this tension within a people—or among different national entities as a whole—reaches such a degree that a release must occur.

War replaces the bond of peace, and catastrophe replaces slow development - thus, it is only in such times that people suddenly realize just how deeply minds had already diverged, and they discover that, in times of decision, old views—many of which are still revered—sink back into oblivion, while other, entirely new syntheses suddenly come to life, which captivate all who are searching, struggling, and striving.

It cannot be our task, at least for now, to characterize individual epochs of intellectual and political decision-making from the past with a definitive value judgment; instead, it must simply be noted that at the beginning of the 16th century, a great tension reached a breaking point, and the idea proclaimed by Luther swept through all the states of Europe; then, in 1789, it once again hung over the entire world like an omnipresent force - thus, just as the attempt at religious and political renewal began in 1517, so here a new conception of the state entered into a conscious opposition to another: one prevailed, and the other crumbled.

Today we once again find ourselves in the midst of a struggle that is both ideological and political in nature: even if the eternally lukewarm and the eternally cowardly refuse to acknowledge this—and continue to hide their lukewarmness and cowardice behind old, long-since rotten conceptions of the state, so as to avoid having to take a stand on the issues of the present and the future—the struggle has begun, and it will not end until a new synthesis of life has prevailed, first in one European country, then in the others.

We all feel a sense of collapse within us today, and we also have a deep longing for a new way of life: we no longer want the past, we hate the present, and we strive for the future of the German people.

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We know where we belong, though we cannot discern what the future holds for us in detail, and we cannot say exactly what forms our longing will one day take - and yet, we see a goal shining in the distance, and have set out on the journey toward it, for it draws us irresistibly: this faith will one day prove us right.

We are the forerunners of a new era, and even if many or all of us should not live to see it, we will still be able to say at the end: we have lived, and it was beautiful to live and to fight...

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<sup>57</sup> This essay has been translated into English and can be read here:  
[https://archive.org/details/the-peoples-concept-of-the-state/Der\\_v%C3%B6lkische\\_Staatsgedanke/](https://archive.org/details/the-peoples-concept-of-the-state/Der_v%C3%B6lkische_Staatsgedanke/) - The Translator

## **The *Völkischer Beobachter*, on Its Rebirth**

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 4th, 1925 - when the *Völkischer Beobachter*—which had been banned after November 9th—was relaunched in 1925, Adolf Hitler once again entrusted Alfred Rosenberg with the position of chief editor of the paper, a role he still holds today.**

**In the first half of the New Reich, the *Völkischer Beobachter* became Germany's largest newspaper.**

When, on November 9th, 1923, the persecution of all “völkische” movements and all National Socialists began, the *Völkischer Beobachter* was, of course, also banned by the General State Commissioner of the Bavarian People's Party, His Excellency Dr. Gustav von Kahr; however, after nearly a year and a half, shortly after the anniversary of Adolf Hitler's conviction, it is reemerging as a daily newspaper and—as the battle cry of the National Socialist struggle for freedom of Greater Germany.

The political situation has changed greatly in many respects since 1923, with only the enslavement of the German people remaining—even intensifying, as those groups in which many had still placed their hopes have now joined the ranks of those pursuing an unrestrained policy of compliance: the National Socialist movement is therefore, more than ever, the hope of patriotic Germans.

It would be insincere of us to gloss over the fact that much has transpired in the past year that is deeply regrettable - but, it is precisely for this reason that only one thing matters now: fulfilling our duty.

Once, entire generations labored on Gothic cathedrals, and while it happened that many human frailties often delayed the completion of the work, it yet today stands before us as if cast from a single mold: this was possible because the design—the architectural concept—served as the guiding, defining form underlying the entire endeavor.

So it is with our movement, for it will—despite everything—grow organically and continue to grow, because the National Socialist concept of the state exists in both its outline and its blueprint, and has already become a conscious reality in the souls of so many Germans that—if the German people as such still possess any spiritual strength at all—it must and will forge its path over all obstacles.

The *Völkischer Beobachter* will remain unwaveringly dedicated to the struggle for the National Socialist concept of the state and the racial worldview.

We see it as our goal to develop it—necessarily starting once again from humble beginnings—into the most incisive and leading Greater German newspaper; our old friends at home and abroad ask us to once again grant us their cooperation, to send us important news, and to speak to us when they have something constructive to say.

Relentless, undaunted work is demanded of every National Socialist, and everyone has a duty to do their part in promoting the *Völkischer Beobachter*: the higher the circulation, the richer the newspaper can and will become, and the broader the circles of the currently deluded German people it will be able to reach.

## Soldier and Worker

From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 24th, 1925

There are many capable people who feel German with all their hearts, and who also openly profess their commitment to the more sharply defined National Socialist state program, but to whom the term “workers’ party” appears to be a revival of the old idea of class struggle in contrast to the “people’s community” they are striving for: this idea is, however, understandable, thanks to decades of Marxist propaganda, which used the concept of the “manual laborer” by any unscrupulous means to promote class struggle, and to fragment the organic struggle of the people.

In the ever-intensifying conflicts between social classes and estates, the so-called bourgeois segment saw itself precisely as non-workers, and continues to carry this label with them to this day - thus, restoring the concept of the “worker” to its proper perspective is the task of the National Socialist movement, for it does not seek a class struggle in which manual laborers stand on one side and the bourgeoisie on the other, but rather a national community of all working people united against all parasites; applying this designation of “worker” to the broader public will strip the concept of the worker of its class-struggle character and, even internally, foreshadow that reconciliation which must one day become the outward hallmark of a national state.

The “bourgeois” side is meant to signify that the term “citizen” carries no positive connotation, but merely expresses the meaningless fact of citizenship in a particular country, whereas the concept of the worker is based on a very specific, positive idea of achievement.

Perhaps another example will help well-meaning people understand what is essentially at stake here: when Field Marshal Hindenburg’s candidacy became known, a famous general gave a speech in which he said that now that the best soldier in the German army had agreed to run for office, everyone had a duty to support him wholeheartedly - here, the term “soldier” was applied even to the highest-ranking officers of the German Army, as although the term “soldier” was originally restricted to the lowest rung of the army’s hierarchical ladder, it has proven its unifying character by being extended in essence to the entire officer corps.

Similarly, the term “worker” must also shed the character of mere manual labor, and whether one is a scholar, technician, artist, or writer, the concept of the worker should unite all creative people, and only the drones of society should cling to their titles and place themselves outside the creative community of the people.

The concept of a workers’ party in the National Socialist sense is therefore not a repetition of the Marxist attempt, but the exact opposite of it! A National Socialist politician feels at one with the entire German working class, to which he is inseparably linked, even if a great many people who have been incited to hatred are still unable to put this into practice today,

The concepts of soldierhood and working-class identity are to take on a different meaning than they do today, when they are still used to incite class strife; in the future, they are to merge into the concept of the national community and the working community, for only then will the internal prerequisites for the establishment of a National Socialist state have been created.

## “National Socialism?”

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, February 1st, 1927 - here, just as clearly as in the preceding essay *Soldier and Worker*, we see how important it was in the early years to use the sharpest and most precise language to describe the goals of National Socialism, so that outside forces could not sow confusion within the ranks of the young movement.**

Words may be mere symbols, yet in these words lie a magically compelling power in their use and the way they are emphasized.

The names Potsdam, Weimar, and Bayreuth—once unremarkable designations—now embody the fullness of German identity whenever they are spoken, for some more than for others, depending on the strength of their reason and soul: in any case, they manifest as a spiritual force the moment they are uttered.

For millions, the words Rome, Wartburg, and Mecca convey a similar meaning, and millions more felt their very being stirred when people spoke of the “German Reich”; others, however, also felt the same when “The Internationale” was sung.

For many thousands today, the word “National Socialism” already carries a similar symbolic meaning, for in it—in this single phrase—lies the synthesis of the great issues of our time that defines the essence of our movement: those of nationalism and socialism.

It is nationalism, purified of formal and economic contingencies, and socialism, freed from the delusion of internationalism in every form - thus we all firmly believe that, when this word is uttered in the days to come, it will evoke in the minds of millions the entire struggle for freedom of our people, and we should therefore use this name as a single word—as a noun—as undivided as possible, as a whole.

However, even in our circles, there is often talk of “national socialism” - this is, of course, is used in a non-literal sense, for all party comrades who use it naturally think as I described at the outset; however, there is a danger in the use of these two words, namely, the danger that among the Germans yet to be won over, an impression different from what is intended might arise.

In using the phrase “national socialism” instead of “National Socialism,” the view could easily take hold that socialism is the main thing, while the “national” is merely an adjective—an explanation of the noun, so to speak—whereas in reality, the opposite is true: the eternal element that we wish to preserve through all changing forms is the people.

Everything—and I mean everything—must serve to strengthen those racial foundations that ensure the nation’s prosperity, and from this perspective, socialism—which is purified of Marxism—appears as a state instrument, serving both the individual and the whole, to protect national unity from unrestrained private desires.

This is not to realize an abstract idea called “socialism,” but to serve the most concrete reality of all: the nation; that is why the word “nationalism” must also stand as the main term—and specifically in conjunction with “socialism”—rather than as an unstated addendum.

We are therefore, strictly speaking, not “national socialists,” but National Socialists.

It is high time to emphasize this clearly, for, due to the previously only improper use of the first version, many of our speakers and writers have become accustomed to using it exclusively - here, then, lies the obvious danger of a distortion of our overall ideology.

This must be eliminated by ensuring that, from now on, we speak and write only of National Socialism as a single, primary term.

## The Flag

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Thursday, July 8th, 1923 - Alfred Rosenberg wrote this passage on the eve of the NSDAP's Weimar Party Congress, July 1926.**

Every genuine longing creates a symbol for itself, for at the sight of such a symbol, even in the simplest of people, all the ideas, personalities, and experiences that have become attached to that symbol come to life.

In everyday life, many people do not even realize what a powerful force for creating ideas resides in the human heart—a heart that, at the sight of a regimental flag, suddenly feels a sense of kinship with those thousands who, in past centuries, fought and bled under that banner, torn in so many battles - thus, the German sailor who waved the flag of the “Nürnberg” before sinking into the waves as the last man standing before the enemy’s eyes has become the mystical embodiment of a flag whose fluttering once embodied Germany’s great figures, and had carried the German name to the farthest lands.

A flag leads millions into battle, but a flag has true value only when it is a symbol of a zest for life springing from the very source of humanity: that is the black swastika on a white field and a fiery red background.

The swastika, the Germanic symbol of the race and the symbol of the struggle for the values of our heritage; then the colors black, white, and red, which were the sacred banner under which the Second Reich was founded and under which two million German heroes gave their lives.

Now we stand in chaos, but from this chaos, and against this chaos, the idea and form of the Third Reich are already rising, clear and bright, for all who can see: the eternal racial symbol and the heroic old colors of honor in a new, ancient form.

Race and honor, honor and race—that was what every flag proclaimed, each of the many that stood closely together early on Sunday, July 4th, and were carried past Adolf Hitler that evening—500 in number, followed by ever-new columns.

This sea of flags, gathered in the market square, later expressed the new creed once more—wordlessly, yet more powerfully than any words could convey.

During the delegates’ conference, the statement was made for the first time in full public view that the flag controversy among us has already been resolved, both internally and externally - thus, not only are the idea and form of the Third Reich already taking shape against the dark backdrop of the present, but the symbol of the future is already there—the flag of the Third Reich is the National Socialist swastika banner—along with its creed: the state is not an end in itself, but a means to racial protection; racial protection, however, is not an end in itself either, but a means to preserve the idea of national honor.

Race and people are the indispensable bearers of this idea, which is born with them and must die without them: its idea and substance are an ultimate phenomena.

Every race has its great idea, and every idea seeks out its race: this is what all those thousands who were driven by a great longing for Weimar must have instinctively felt, and there, their feeling must have become a living and unshakable consciousness.

The Pharisees and scribes of all denominations and parties will certainly laugh—as do all those whose faith has grown rotten yet who remain presumptuous—but those who swore allegiance to the swastika flag have experienced that flag-consecration as a sacred act, however simple it may have appeared, or, rather, precisely because it was so simple.

And you, who carry the flags and banners and march behind them, be aware that you are fighting for the greatest cause that has ever been fought for in Germany in over 1,000 years, and do not forget who gave you not only the idea, but also the symbol: Hitler!

## Unforgettable Days

From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, August 24th, 1927.

The days in Nuremberg are over<sup>58</sup>, but the experiences will remain unforgettable for all participants, and not just the party members, for even the most apathetic spectator could sense that the quintessentially German spirit had finally risen to its full height, rising upward with a clearly defined goal in mind. When the SA marched past their Führer with shining eyes and looked upon him with pride, then all those thousands in brown shirts, in turn, could return home knowing that the Führer, too, had been proud of them, for he saw the finest German blood marching past him, just as in 1914 when he himself, then still an unknown soldier in the gray army, marched to the German border to help save Germany.

All National Socialists will have heard with pride that during the Nuremberg Days, despite the enormous crowds, not a single clash—not even a minor incident—was reported: this has definitively proven that, where National Socialism holds sway, the German national community has become a practical reality. The Marxists—insofar as they were good German workers—had given up all protest, and had not heeded the provocative calls of their leaders; indeed, many Nurembergers observed with joyful astonishment that—apparently overwhelmed by the sight of the swastika-bearing army of German workers, with their defiant stares and clenched fists—many workers known as Social Democrats pinned the festival badge bearing our swastika and the standard eagle to their clothing.

Especially in working-class neighborhoods, where a National Socialist would not have dared to set foot in 1920 or even as late as 1922, swastika flags were hanging from the fourth and fifth floors: to these German workers, who are awakening from the deception of Marxism, we shake hands in spirit, in the hope that they will all one day be ours—ours like the united squad that marched past Adolf Hitler on Saturday, wearing their former Red Front caps and swastika armbands.

When the flags and standards rejoined the gray ranks after the consecration ceremony in the Luitpoldhain, a broad beam of sunlight broke through the morning clouds, and flooded the many thousands with radiance - thus, the days in Nuremberg were also a ray of light in the darkness of the present, and they tell us: the future is ours!

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<sup>58</sup> The 1927 Nuremberg Rally had just ended on August 21st. - The Translator

## Party Congress 1929

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, August 6th, 1929**

Well over one hundred thousand National Socialists were in Nuremberg, and just as many—and even more—from all walks of life took part in the great march of the National Socialist Party.

For three days, the ancient German city of Nuremberg stood under the sign of the swastika, filled for three days with the atmosphere of the German people's awakening will for freedom; for hours, the brown columns marched past their Führer, Adolf Hitler, with gleaming eyes, determination on their faces, and enthusiasm on their lips.

The march past of the National Socialist SA men from the north and the south, from the Ostmark and the Palatinate, from Bohemia and Carinthia, was a political demonstration of unprecedented intensity: it was a demonstration of the national will for freedom of the entire German people, and it was a rally against servitude, in which the German people are being held down by the means of violence and treason.

It is a rally that manifested itself—and had to manifest itself—in such a primal way today, precisely because the decisive hour for the German nation has struck and can no longer tolerate any cowardly evasion - thus, this party convention of the National Socialist movement, in all its manifestations, was bound to become such a significant expression of the tremendous political upheaval that is shaking our German people to their very core today.

In a few unyielding sentences, the Führer of the movement captured the essence of these mighty struggles over our destiny: in his impressive address at the opening of the Congress, he proclaimed the National Socialist Party to be the fighting organization of the German people, and in his passionate closing speech, he crowned this idea with his appeal to German strength.

The remarks of the other speakers at the party convention were likewise dominated by the atmosphere of the intense political ferment currently taking place among the German people - thus, Gottfried Feder, in forceful terms, declared resistance to the impending financial enslavement by the Young Plan to be the last opportunity to express any political will at all, and General von Epp, standing before the sarcophagus of our fallen heroes from the Great War, called upon the assembly to vow to emulate these men, and to prove their courage in the face of death through action in the struggle to restore German freedom.

“We are the last stand of the German people” - thus said Julius Streicher in his welcoming address, thereby expressing the sentiment that once led us all to commit ourselves heart and soul to the National Socialist Party.

This is the very reason why, once again today, thousands are rushing to join the ranks of the National Socialist front, swelling its ranks into the most powerful popular movement of this century, for a revolutionary act is taking place here in the political and spiritual realm, the path of which must be paid for with bloody sacrifices.

Even the blood that flowed in Nuremberg during the days of our Party Congress is the result of the same passionate upheaval that has gripped the German people as a whole—an upheaval that is bound to lead to bloody crimes on the part of those political forces that feel most threatened by the impending upheaval in the political character of the German nation.

## On the Essential Structure of National Socialism

Speech delivered at the NSDAP Party Congress held in Nuremberg from August 1st to 4th, 1929; not long after, Alfred Rosenberg wrote his well-known treatise of the same name.

Some sections of this speech were also included in *The Myth of the 20th Century*.

This year's party convention marks a very special milestone in the development of the National Socialist movement, in that the first difficult years of arduous preparatory work—which were necessary due to the establishment of local chapters throughout the Reich and their gradual organization—have, in a certain sense, come to a close.

At the same time, however, it is also becoming clear that ever-broader segments of the population are beginning to recognize the utter helplessness of Germany's foreign and domestic policy, and are accordingly turning their attention to a doctrine that had previously been derided; they are now listening to the speeches and writings of that opposition who for years had tirelessly predicted the futility and hostility toward the people of the policy of compliance, and had denounced the stifling of national thought at home.

This stage in our development—going beyond all technical and organizational considerations—places unprecedented demands on everyone for the future, because the awakening masses are now approaching us with a thousand questions of both a fundamental and a day-to-day political nature - thus, in order to accelerate the process of integrating new members and to give it a unified direction, it is absolutely necessary to clearly and comprehensibly articulate—even at the Congress—the epistemological premises and the commitments of our movement, for we already frequently observe today that individuals who turn away from old political parties and join us are, shortly thereafter, active as speakers and writers: it is only too understandable, then, that some lines of thought still stem from the past, have not yet undergone a clear National Socialist transformation, and that, as a result, issues are often addressed in our meetings and in our press in a manner that could undermine the unity of the entire movement.

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Human beings cannot grasp and represent the world and life in their immediacy, for the essence of life is its uninterrupted activity, and the essence of the human mind and consciousness is the interrupted, the intermittent: without this mental rhythm, not a single work of art, not a single formulated thought of science, not a single heroic deed would be possible.

This profound difference between the uninterrupted, flowing, organic process of life and the nature of our cognitive faculties compels us to distinguish even further and to bring to our consciousness those forms through which human beings appropriate the world, subjugate it, or serve it.

Intuition has an immediate, compelling effect or provokes negation; we can gain insight into the problem at hand only through a rational framework, and human beings are driven by the spur of the will.

Intuition, operating according to its eternal laws, always works with symbols: anyone who has ever stood in the Potsdam Garrison Church at the graves of Frederick the Great and Frederick William I, anyone who has consciously gazed upon the old, tattered Prussian flags on the walls, will find that these symbolic flag cloths evoke an entire world—the greatest eras of German history, the greatest parables of German strength and German spirit of sacrifice.

It is also a new symbol that has been presented to us today by the National Socialist movement, repeated in infinite numbers: this symbol shows us directly, through its color and design, what we recognize theoretically and desire inwardly.

Day by day, month by month, year by year, ever new thoughts, ever new deeds, and ever new sacrifices coalesce around this symbol, and thus, not only does the new flag itself become a symbol, but so do the men who carry these flags, for only those who are sustained by the great values of Germanhood and have the courage to represent them outwardly can truly commit themselves to this new symbol.

Here already we can discern a mystical harmony between these character values and ideals and the immediate perception of reality, in that the average of that humanity which professes allegiance to us also recognizes a racial ideal, as more uninhibited times once proclaimed through their art: it is a racial ideal that links the great female figures of the Parthenon pediment in Athens just as closely to the figure of Gudrun and Goethe's Dorothea, as the Greek male figures are linked to the Germanic ideal of beauty even to this day.

In life, it is not always necessary for every single individual to perfectly correspond to the ideal image, but it is important that everyone carries this ideal image in their heart, for it has now been proven from a racial perspective that a person's genetic makeup and their physical appearance do not always coincide, and thus, a purely external measurement of the skull or physique, down to the finest detail, does not always lead to the desired result.

And yet, it is clear that the new German onomastics<sup>59</sup> has given us an entirely new perspective, for swept away in one fell swoop are all those fantastical and anti-natural doctrines concerning the equality of human beings, concerning so-called eternal and universal evolution—in short, all those doctrines which essentially assert that something can arise from nothing, or that something of one kind can, through evolution, give rise to its opposite.

Such doctrines were possible only through scholars, and could be embraced only by a generation that had forgotten how to see and had thus become susceptible to abstract, dogmatic beliefs - today, a sound perspective refutes all these things without necessarily needing to provide even more precise rational justifications for the broadest circles.

However, these justifications are of course entirely possible, even necessary for all leaders to understand, and they are more compelling today than ever, precisely because they correspond to what is immediately perceptible.

Genuine intuition, then, goes beyond this immediacy of what is humanly given in a new way of seeing, and further encompasses all art (including music, which is based on the pure intuition of the ear) as a means of determining a universal essence through intuitive symbols—colors, signs, sounds—and of representing a myth of life.

If one delves even deeper, one will find that intuition, through its symbolic power, also plays a role even in the most abstract of sciences, and that ultimately, the ideal of the so-called Nordic race is also a symbol, for while we find almost nowhere a complete embodiment of this symbol, it yet hovers before our eyes in a thoroughly unified and vivid manner.

Through the power of this inner image, it has imparted to us a new way of seeing the external world as well, and today the scales have fallen from the eyes of millions, revealing that the eternal metamorphosis

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<sup>59</sup> The academic study of proper names and the evolution of names. - The Translator

in the course of political history, in the course of the rise and fall of many peoples, is merely the outward manifestation of the becoming and passing of great ideas and great forces of will.

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If, then, intuition and symbol—as one way of grasping the world—are inextricably linked, human will is characterized by value judgments: that is, on the level of the will, the approval and rejection of an individual or a people take place in connection with those values we designate by the words “honor”, “freedom”, “pride”, “duty”, and “loyalty”—or with their corresponding opposites.

Throughout the history of philosophy, there has been much debate over whether reason or the will should be accorded primacy: it has been argued that it is the will that gives reason its direction, while the opposing side has demonstrated with hair-splitting precision that the will is, after all, guided solely by motives, and that these motives are the products of rational insight; that the more an insight is proclaimed, the more the human will aligns itself with it, and therefore the happiness or misfortune of individuals or peoples depends solely on philosophy.

This question remains unresolved to this day, and cannot be definitively settled by us here either; rather, we adopt the practical standpoint of a profession of faith that we trace back to the myth of blood, to the mysterious harmony between blood and soul.

As National Socialists—that is, as representatives of the modern expression of the national will—we profess that the drive of the will is for us the first and last principle; that, therefore, the character traits of human beings constitute the ultimate standard even for the highest achievements of reason, so that even the economic and social programs, the entire state program of the National Socialist movement is conditioned by the volitional aspect of the German people, and that it is determined to make everything else dependent on the recognition of the values of honor, pride, loyalty, and freedom.

Therefore, the economy—which appears to be so bound to material things—is, in our view, not primarily defined by rational classifications or sober programs, but rather by the implementation of its sober processes in accordance with clearly identifiable values: just as so-called Roman law is, at its very core, dishonorable to us today, it can only be overcome by a new law in which the idea of individual honor and national honor transcends all else, providing the standard for judging all actions and all transgressions. In the same vein, just as today’s democratic economy is devoid of honor—and this dishonor celebrates its triumph over the deluded German people as the so-called “free play of forces”—so too will the economy take on a new face when the eternal Germanic character values are once again placed at the forefront as the guiding principle, and their deniers are ruthlessly suppressed.

There was once a time when a handshake from a Germanic chieftain or the word of a Hanseatic merchant was considered more unbreakable than today’s longest contracts and loudest oaths.

National Socialism will also oppose any policy that has not been born of the values of national pride, and does not ultimately pursue the complete independence of the entire nation.

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Finally, the third way of forming a picture of the world is achieved with the help of reason and the intellect, as together, they have the task of capturing the ever-flowing stream of life within fixed

conceptual frameworks, organizing activities, and thereby creating functional—that is, life-affirming—forms of society, even for everyday existence.

Our entire field of physics—indeed, all of science—belongs to this schematic organization of the world: mathematics, for example, as a whole, is an immensely artful, purely schematic construct of the constructive mind, ranging from the simplest arithmetic, through algebra, to the finest subtleties of analytical geometry.

Anyone who has ever engaged in higher mathematics will have observed with amazement how extensively the concepts of the infinitely small and the unimaginable are employed, simply to come as close as possible to grasping the form of life: the entire uplifting course of the Germanic sciences is based on this schema, which merely approximates life, and there is no one among us who would wish to disparage this expression of human life.

In our time, powerful currents are emerging that view the mind itself as the enemy of life, and driven by very understandable organic impulses, they have ignited a fierce struggle against rationalism—that is, against the dominion of the purely intellectual.

We welcome this struggle insofar as it is directed against a dictatorship of reason, when developmental hypotheses similar to those already mentioned not only stray from nature but, in their theories—such as the equality of humankind—contradict the immediate, nature-awaken views and all the volitional forces of humankind; we cannot, however, concede that “the spirit” as such must somehow be hostile to nature, life, and blood.

The first creations of reason on Greek soil—the figure of Zeus, the Father of the Gods—were not a bloodless, abstract thought, but merely the schematization and personification of cosmic forces that humans felt acting directly upon themselves; the law of the sun, the celestial commandments—these had been made immediately vivid through the symbolic power of the eternally great poet, just as the concept of atoms revealed an immense schematizing creative power.

If a contemporary spiritual movement is rightly outraged that the purely mechanistic worldview has taken hold of the whole person—his values, his religious conceptions, and ultimately his political ideas as well—then, conversely, one must object to the triumphant declaration made today by a romanticizing philosophy that the mechanical worldview is finally collapsing—a philosophy that seeks to smuggle moral values into cosmic natural processes today as determining factors.

It was Immanuel Kant’s great epistemological achievement to have separated these two worlds, which, through their arbitrary fusion, had shaped our conceptions right up to the present day, and whose proponents, in turn, sought by every means to prevent the emergence of genuine science through the use of grand, schematic ideas: the great physicist Lenard<sup>60</sup> has pointed out the significant fact that from shortly before the beginning of the year 1 until nearly the year 1500, this investigative and creative power of reason was almost entirely suppressed, and that only after bloody struggles did the eternal Germanic right to an organically structured worldview prevail.

We believe that a movement that acts in this spirit against rationalism and against technology itself will, if it prevails, not give rise to a vital organism, but will, on the contrary, have a structure-destroying and chaotic effect, for it is not technology and not science in and of themselves that hinder culture or in any way destroy civilization, but rather, both always derive their characteristics from the people who created them, and who continue to nurture them.

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<sup>60</sup> Philipp Lenard, German Nobel Prize-winning experimental physicist and National Socialist. - The Translator

When we observe today the destruction of the value-creating human being by the global metropolis and resolve to defend ourselves against it by every means, we are aware that it was above all a degenerate humanity that created these stone deserts, and only because it was itself degenerate and no longer possessed the ability to integrate technology and science into values guided by the will and to overcome the existing difficulties: from this insight, then, a straight path leads to the conception of the world as intuition and will.

Here we arrive at the same time at the deepest primal source from which we believe the entire renewal movement—including that of present-day Germany—has been carried forth, with the National Socialist movement marching at its head.

We believe that the three ways of appropriating the world—through intuition, will, and reason—converge from a unified faith, from a single myth, the myth of blood, from a myth of the people, even if, based on experience, we cannot trace the individual currents of all these forces down to their very finest ramifications: this is where confession—where faith—comes in, and the fact that, if intuition, will, and reason truly stem from a single source, the essential content of all three can be seamlessly interchanged serves as a measure of the organic truth of this faith.

We must therefore be able to find that the intuition of a particular race coincides with its innermost volitional aspirations - in other words, that very specific character traits are bound to a distinctly clear and imaginable racial form, and furthermore, that reason, with its knowledge, cannot contradict these inner character traits.

It must therefore be possible—to speak symbolically—to perceive the song of Master Hildebrand as akin to the mysticism of Master Eckhart and the thought of, say, Immanuel Kant - thus, anyone who strives to grasp the essence of the German people more deeply will find that this possibility exists, despite the richness of their thoughts and aspirations.

This idea alone opens up for the National Socialist movement a great awakening of all the forces still slumbering today, and reveals it as a strong link marching in a line of ancestors stretching back millennia.

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With this insight into the great unity as a prelude, we must now focus primarily on the schematic aspect of the movement.

Schematization occurs in all fields only with the help of spiritual dualities, with the help of organic opposites - here it is above all important to understand a schema always only as a means of grasping forms, not as a means of blurring as many forms as possible and then pitting one schema against another in a vacuum.

Furthermore, we must understand that world history does not unfold through the conception of some doctrines in the scholar's study—doctrines that, likewise hovering above the clouds, now divide people into two camps—and that, on the basis of these purely abstract yardsticks, one believes one can solve all mysteries.

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This is what happens when one group in Germany declares that nationalism must be realized, and another responds that, since the existing Marxist parties have betrayed socialism, our movement is called upon to

realize socialism: there is, however, no such thing as abstract nationalism, just as there is no such thing as abstract socialism.

The German people are not here to defend some abstract scheme with their blood, but on the contrary, all schemes, systems of thought, and values are, in our view, merely means to strengthen the nation's struggle for survival in the external world, and to increase its inner strength through a just and effective organization: we must, therefore, promote and welcome nationalism—as the rise of certain inner values—only among those peoples whose destinies we believe do not come into hostile conflict with the influence of the German people, and we are therefore unable to muster enthusiasm for nationalism in and of itself.

We can observe, for example, that South African mixed-race people or other mixed-race groups in the tropics are also staging “nationalist” revolutions; that the black people of Haiti and Santo Domingo are experiencing a “nationalist” awakening, and that, under the banner of the right of peoples to self-determination, all inferior elements on this globe are, quite mechanically, claiming freedom for themselves: none of this interests us however, or it interests us only to the extent that a far-sighted German policy promises to strengthen the Germanic spirit by making use of these developments—and, within this Germanic awakening, to strengthen the German people.

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It is certainly necessary, in order to master the fleeting nature of life, to designate certain mental and spiritual attitudes—even if the most diverse ones coexist within the human heart—by different names - thus, we call an aspiration that originates from the individual and regards self-interest as the standard for its actions “individualism”, and we use the same term to describe a conception of the state that seriously believes that a collection of millions of individuals can constitute a people, a state, or so-called “humanity”.

Such a system of government, upon which our entire democracy is based, necessarily lacks any concept of an organic whole, and thus also the creative power to produce genuine forms, whether of an intellectual or political nature: that is why liberalism and democracy have never been type-creating or generative anywhere, but have always served to loosen things up, at best preparing the ground for new types.

All life and all knowledge are always characterized by contrasts, and everywhere we can observe a polarity of phenomena: that is why it is also extraordinarily important to gain clarity regarding organic opposites, not to distort them with arbitrary schemes, or even to treat things as opposites that are not at all—which, ideologically and later also practically, must lead to the most severe devastation within the social structure.

For centuries, for example, we have been accustomed—and still are today—to perceiving life and death as organic opposites: this line of thought originated in an era of decay that, in its sheer self-absorption, had lost all connection to nature, and had now found its way into the dogmatism of our churches, as well as into the thinking of non-religious segments of society - and yet, a clear-eyed view of nature shows us that life is not the opposite of death, for we can observe death only as an event in an individual being, not as a whole.

The individual being is born and dies, but life goes on - thus, while birth and death stand in opposition to one another as organic and entirely natural opposites, life is a comprehensive concept that unites birth and death.

As Goethe said with brilliant impartiality regarding Nature, she needs Death as a means to bring forth new life again and again: while this view of nature may seem cruel from the individual human perspective, and it is quite possible that we are all rarely able to rise to the level of this perspective, nevertheless, it remains true and has an effect, regardless of how we think about it.

The assertion that death is the opposite of life has fostered deep spiritual despair among millions of people, and has given rise to the most varied attempts to overcome death as “the wages of sin”, or to resort to other means of consolation.

Under certain circumstances, even the best attempt to proclaim false opposites as existing within the organization of a people or several ethnic groups, and to then pit them against one another as abstract systems in order to attempt to create new foundations for the life of peoples, can be just as disastrous: we are currently witnessing, for example, that the individualism already mentioned is being set against a so-called universalism, just as we advocate a German socialism in opposition to individualism.

The following should be said in this regard: from a purely philosophical standpoint, the term “universalism” denotes an idea that proceeds from a whole, as opposed to a view that posits only the individual as the measure of value for its thought and action - incidentally, however, this term is also inextricably linked to the historical phenomenon of ecclesiastical-political universalism in Europe, as it prevailed throughout the Middle Ages: this universalism was based on certain doctrinal tenets and demanded the subjugation of the thought of all races and peoples to these dogmas, which were proclaimed at various councils; it was in opposition to this universalism that the national cultures of the peoples of Europe emerged.

Universalism was thus, from the outset, an abstract assertion or an abstract form of belief that only gained its substantive content through the national vitality of various peoples; thus, when we therefore use the word “universalism,” we can no longer separate the great historical phenomenon from its form of expression, and for this reason alone, the juxtaposition of individualism and universalism—in the sense of a commitment to the latter—must be rejected from a consistent German standpoint.

Universalism cannot help but boil down to so-called “ultimate totalities,” to ultimate assertions not only of a formal nature, but also of a substantive nature, through which the fate and social structure of the most diverse peoples are to be determined; furthermore, this terminology is also inadvisable because it posits opposites that do not exist.

The “I” and the blood-bound people—which seek to shape its life and history through social forms appropriate to it—stand in an organic opposition to one another.

The summarizing terms should therefore be, from the more formal side: Individualism-Socialism, and from a predominantly substantive perspective: Individualism-Nationalism.

The Societas, or society, is thus a living, animate entity, and I can only conceive of the juxtaposition of the animate with the animate in terms of organic opposites; I cannot, however, proclaim an organic opposition between the animate and the inanimate, because we entirely lack the means for such a comparison.

Universalism must ultimately refer to a world mechanism or an abstract dogma, and it does itself no favors by attempting to deny these consequences; however, if one wishes to understand universalism restrictively as applying only to the human realm, it follows both in principle and from a historical perspective that individualism and universalism are not opposites, but rather—quite the contrary—spiritual twin brothers.

At the time when, in dying Greece and in dying ancient Rome, selfishness and materialism began to prevail as manifestations of a societal decay, universalist systems of thought simultaneously came to the fore: while the ancient Greeks, in their time of flourishing and vitality, recognized above all the distinction between Hellenes and barbarians, Socrates—who, by blood at least, was ultimately not Greek—proclaimed the so-called unity of all that is good, and his student Antisthenes, the son of a Greek man and a Near Eastern slave woman, was already openly calling for the abolition of all national barriers in the name of an abstract humanity.

We can directly trace the connection between individualism and universalism in the political sphere over the last 100 years in the democratic and Marxist movements, which proceed from the happiness of the individual while simultaneously proclaiming a culture of human salvation, aiming for a pan-European entity, and ultimately a world republic—be it a republic of stockbrokers or a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat serving as a protective shell for this global stock-market dictatorship.

The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan are both examples of the convergence of universalism and bloodless individualism - thus, we therefore declare that we can recognize organic oppositions only between the individual and society, between the individual and the nation, because the concept of society—that is, a humanly organized one—already encompasses an organic, blood-based bond through character values and ideals.

From this fundamental perspective arises the entire National Socialist system of thought and government, and we declare that it is not some abstract individualism, abstract universalism, or abstract socialism—descending, as it were, from the clouds—that shapes nations, but rather that, conversely, that blood-healthy nations do not recognize individualism as a standard, any more than they do universalism. Individualism and universalism are, viewed from a fundamental and historical perspective, the worldviews of decline—at best, those of the unhappy individual, torn apart by various circumstances, who takes refuge in a final, coercive dogma in order to escape his inner division.

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From this entire experience of a rebirth, from the recognition of ancient, eternal values, and from the new understanding of organic opposites, a radiant light suddenly dawns upon us as we survey the development of the most recent historical epochs.

Throughout the entire 19th century and into the 20th, we see two great movements—nationalism and socialism—wrestling with one another, and the fact that both had become great and powerful shows that they are both necessarily grounded in an organically healthy core and organically healthy driving forces, regardless of which people and systems have, over the course of time, seized control of these forces of will and modes of thought.

We see the old German nationalism—after its great upsurge in the Wars of Liberation, after its deepest philosophical grounding by Fichte, after its explosive manifestation through Blücher, Baron vom Stein, and Ernst Moritz Arndt, and in its military dynamism through Scharnhorst<sup>61</sup> and Gneisenau<sup>62</sup>—only to pass into the hands of a class that was internally obsolete, but still organizationally strong, as most sharply

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<sup>61</sup> Gernhard von Scharnhorst, Prussian general and legendary reformer in the Prussian military apparatus. - The Translator

<sup>62</sup> August Neidhardt von Gneisenau, Prussian field marshal and reformer in the Prussian military apparatus. - The Translator

exemplified by the Metternich system - thus, the burgeoning nationalism entered into a fateful marriage with dynasticism immediately after its emergence.

The value of the king or the emperor in and of himself was held higher than that of the entire people, and while a Blücher still declared that if the kings refused to join the struggle for freedom, they must be driven out, and Baron vom Stein forced the King of Prussia to issue an appeal to his people by threatening to imprison him in Spandau, we now see a court-dominated regime taking root, one that would have led to collapse long ago had not Bismarck's immense power once again attempted to forge the monarchy and the nation into a unified bloc under dynastic leadership.

However, while Frederick the Great embodied this unity even in the darkest days of fate, the last German Emperor had already lost this faith when he declared his intention to spare his people a civil war and crossed the border - with that, then, the very concept of the dynasty was severed from the body of the people, and on November 9th, 1918, the dynastic concept of the state collapsed.

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In addition to dynasticism, nineteenth-century German nationalism was closely linked to liberal democracy, which grew stronger and stronger as industrial trusts, the global economy, wholesale trade, and international banks expanded: the economic interests of these trusts were often presented as national interests; for example, and the Deutsche Bank and its profits in Turkey were falsely portrayed as being in the national interest of the German Reich.

During the war, we witnessed that the nation's battle cry did not consist of a declaration that the land conquered by the German People's Army should now become property of the German Reich, but rather, for years, negotiations centered solely on the ore mines of Briey and Longwy, thus placing the interests of industry and profit above those of the entire nation.

It is this unnatural linkage and reversal of the hierarchy that is today killing bourgeois nationalism, and shows that only our movement proclaims a new nationalism, thereby consciously and unconsciously linking itself to all the Germanic struggles for freedom of the past, above all to the unconditional greatness of those men who led Germany from the depths back to the heights in 1813.

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Just as 19th-century nationalism was poisoned by Marxist-liberal forces, so too has socialism fared - but before we address this, however, we must be clear that the term "socialization" does not automatically imply technical nationalization per se, as is still common today in bourgeois and Marxist circles under the influence of social democratic doctrine.

For our part, we define as socialist any state-implemented measure designed to protect the entire population from any form of exploitation, as well as any state measure designed to protect the individual from private greed - however, here too, it is not merely a formal act in and of itself that matters, but rather, an act becomes socialist only in terms of its effect: therefore, it is possible that a socialist act does not at all entail formal nationalization, and on the contrary, it may even signify a personalization—a liberation of many individual forces—if this liberation results in a strengthening of the whole.

When Bismarck was once attacked by conservatives as a "socialist," he explained that, under certain circumstances, the term "socialism" held no negative connotations for him whatsoever: he had socialized

the railroads, and he recalled the act of emancipating the peasants by Imperial Baron vom Stein, which also constituted a socialist measure - here, our perspective aligns most deeply with that of Bismarck. Reichsfreiherr vom Stein's act also meant the liberation of hundreds of thousands of peasants from a monstrous tyranny - thus, through this unleashing of creative forces, the welfare and character of the people were elevated, and Reichsfreiherr vom Stein's act remains to this day one of the greatest milestones in the history of German socialist freedom.

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The essence from which this National Socialist perspective stems—one that stands in direct opposition to both bourgeois-liberal and Marxist views—is the ancient, now buried, German sense of justice.

While Roman law insisted solely on the formal aspect of property, isolating this property, as it were, as a thing in itself from all relationships, the Germanic conception of law does not recognize this standpoint at all, but rather knows and acknowledges only relationships—relationships of a duty-based nature between private property and the collective, which are what give the very nature of property its meaning as rightful ownership in the first place.

It is perhaps here that the deepest corruption of socialist thought begins, for in our meetings and writings, the three great ravages of Marxism have been pointed out in sufficient detail: namely, the doctrine of internationalism (which corrodes the national foundation of all thought and feeling), the class struggle (which is intended to destroy the rational, i.e., is intended to destroy the living organism by inciting one part against the other to revolt) and pacifism (which is intended to complete this work of destruction through emasculation in foreign policy).

A fourth and perhaps deepest form of subversion, however, is the destruction of the concept of property, which is most intimately connected with the Germanic ideal of personality itself: Marxism took up the phrase coined by Proudhon—that “Property is theft”—and proclaimed it as a slogan in its struggle against so-called capitalism; this inherently untruthful slogan then brought all demagogues into the Marxist leadership and driven all honest people out of it.

Thus, it came to pass as it inevitably must: under today's Marxist rule, property has not been declared theft, but quite the opposite—the greatest acts of theft are now recognized as lawful property.

This fact highlights in a flash what the entire concept of property is all about, for today's uninspired bourgeoisie accuses us National Socialists of hostility toward property because our program provides for the possibility of carrying out expropriations, if necessary, in the name of a nation-state, and even the citizen who is being robbed today by inflation still clings fearfully to an antiquated conception of property, and, in doing so, feels more connected to the greatest parasites and profiteers than he is willing to subject his old ideas to rigorous scrutiny: this preceding observation shows that the entire dispute revolves solely around the question of where, between theft and legitimate property, the concept of legality begins to take effect.

For a Germanic person, who always links ideas of law with those of honest conduct and duty, lawful property is not difficult to determine, but by contrast, under democracy's modern concept of property, people who ought to be in prison instead travel to international economic conferences dressed in the finest tailcoats: the National Socialist view, which cannot recognize ill-gotten gains as property, has thus become the strongest protector and guardian of the genuine German concept of property, which is entirely in accordance with the ancient Germanic sense of justice.

Here, too, we see a telling fact that brings us back to the beginning of this lecture: for us, socialism is merely the practical implementation of measures to protect the people, and it is therefore not merely an economic or social policy framework, but all of this stems from inner values—that is, from the will. From the will and its values springs the idea of duty, and from it also springs the idea of law; blood is one with this will, and thus our assertion—that socialism and nationalism are not opposites but, in their deepest essence, one and the same—is philosophically grounded precisely in the fact that both expressions of our life stem from common, volitional, fundamental principles that evaluate this life in a specific direction.

As an illustration of the practical implications of these two value systems, we can cite the army and the police: the army is the nation's united popular strength, which must confront external enemies, and it is, as it were, the most vivid embodiment of the nationalist idea.

The police are the internal political safeguard of state sovereignty, the consolidation of those forces called upon to shield both society as a whole and the individual from all forms of exploitation - in this sense, then, the army and the police—in contrast to the November Republic—take on a new significance today, as they are entrusted with the highest mission in a future German state and, with them, everything that is dutifully connected to them.

Only by reflecting on and experiencing the struggles of our time in this way will one come to understand the prerequisites that give all our individual endeavors their full substance, character, and unity, for if every National Socialist examines all the questions of life that come his way from the standpoint of the supreme value of blood-based ethnicity, then while he may certainly err at times, he will always very quickly become aware of the error and be able to correct it.

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In 1918, the German people fell into the deepest depths through their own fault, and are now, over the course of 10 years, being cruelly tormented and tortured by their internal and external enemies - nevertheless, healthy forces have emerged which, having reached the depths of life, have rediscovered precisely there the eternal, primordial sources of German national strength and are now, ready for battle, carrying these experiences and insights through the tribulations of the age.

What the 19th century committed in bourgeois complacency, Marxist delusion, and the most extreme lack of ideas, the present 20th century must make amends for in the midst of a hostile world such as Germany has never before faced in this concentration of power: that is why National Socialism is not a soft doctrine of melancholy, but a harsh and stern demand.

To this day, the concept of so-called “humanity” is associated with a sense of compassion for all that is sick, weak, decayed, and rotten: we National Socialists, however, associate the concept of humanity with all that is inwardly healthy, strong, and combative, for we know that the doctrine of humanity has sought to counteract nature's process of selection, and that nature will therefore take its revenge by ultimately shattering all these democratic and other attempts to the very last.

The essence of National Socialism therefore lies in conforming to the eternal aristocratic laws of nature governing blood—not in promoting the selection of the sick through weakness, but, on the contrary, in

bringing the strong-willed and creative back to the forefront through conscious selection, without looking back at what is left behind: National Socialist doctrine is therefore directed at all the strong members of the German nation who may today be misled by countless false doctrines or, alienated from existence, lead a secluded life of their own in the artistic, scientific, or other fields.

When we survey Germany's past today—for example, as we wander through Dinkelsbühl or Rothenburg—we see before us a complete picture of Germanic culture, a creative force and a military strength without equal: we know that the Thirty Years' War destroyed a way of life forever, that the 17th and 18th centuries lie between them like deep chasms, and that it was only with the rise of the Prussian state that a completely new vitality began to stir once more - thus, in the Wars of Liberation of 1813 and its men, we see the concept of a wholly new German historical trajectory emerging, and we National Socialists of today look to the leaders of these Wars of Liberation as the first founders of a new conception of the state and a new way of life.

We think of the great Baron vom Stein, who knew only one fatherland, namely Germany, for he declared:

*“At this moment of great upheaval, I am completely indifferent to dynasties, as they are merely tools: my wish is for Germany to become great and strong so that it may regain its independence and nationality and assert both in its position between France and Russia; it cannot be preserved through the means of old, decaying, and rotten forms.”*

Stein described “opposing the “democratic fantasists” and princely arbitrariness” as the guiding principle of his struggle: we do the same, but with the emphasis that Marxist criminals have now taken the place of the democratic fantasists.

Another also rises before our eyes as a prophet awaiting his resurrection: Paul de Lagarde, for no one saw as clearly as he did the ills of the liberal Second Reich that were leading to its decline, as he lamented poignantly:

*“Our days are too dark not to promise a new sun: I await this sun.”*

We National Socialists feel secure today in our alignment with the truly great figures of the German nation, joyful and vigorous in our unconditional faith that, as a great popular movement, we represent the rising of that sun for which Stein, Lagarde, and many others waited, and for which they worked as individuals, for we are inwardly strong and swelling in numbers as no revolutionary movement in Europe has ever been.

The French Revolution of 1789 was nothing but a single great collapse devoid of creative thought, and today we are witnessing its decay: our era of upheaval and the recognition of the essential nature of blood, in contrast, signifies the greatest spiritual revolution, which is now consciously beginning.

These questions of our time press upon us daily, and it is the duty of us all to grapple with them, to give an account of our spiritual struggle, to enroll all those who have awakened into the brown ranks: it is the duty and task of each and every one of us to grasp anew, time and again, the tasks now set before the nation, and to serve them with reverence—this life is, in truth, eternal bliss.

## Clear the Streets

**On the death of Horst Wessel, from the *Völkischer Beobachter*, No. 1, March 1930.**

On Saturday at 4:00 a.m., our murdered comrade Horst Wessel will be laid to rest; at that hour, the entire movement will pause in its daily work to pay silent tribute to the newest martyr of the coming Reich—a man who, through his life and death, sealed the blood brotherhood between students and workers. As a member of a student fraternity—a role model for all students—he went among the German working class, always at the forefront of the struggle for freedom and bread; he loved by all his comrades, and hated by the enemies of the awakening working class, who then had him treacherously murdered by a pimp.

The Italian Fascists observed a beautiful and profound custom, for as they, too, had been forced to make many sacrifices in the struggle against Bolshevism: the name of a fallen comrade in a company was kept on their roster, and when each individual was called out during roll call and answered “Present,” this response rang out from the throats of all when the name of the fallen comrade was called.

Like the other martyrs, Horst Wessel is not truly dead, for the “Sturm 5” unit he led and expanded tenfold already bears his name, and his ardent will for a new Germany will pass on to all his comrades-in-arms and those who will join them: invisible yet palpable, the souls of the “dead” fight alongside us for a new life—if we truly want to live.

Horst Wessel’s call of “Clear the way, you Storm Division soldier!” is the battle cry for an army of millions that, through sacrifice and struggle, is wrestling for the soul of a Germany that remains hidden today; the tide is already rising, and every fallen comrade serves as a solemn reminder to us that we must be worthy of this death if we bear the swastika and march under our banners.

Clear the streets! — The New Germany has taken its stand.

## Idea and Führer

**This article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of May 3rd, 1930, is a good example of the crucial educational work that Alfred Rosenberg did for the movement.**

Every great idea—according to Goethe—makes its appearance as a law - but every truly great synthesis is always the spiritual and emotional birth of a personality, for at best, the experiences of an era converge through a few individuals—not through a mere amalgamation, but because they stem from the same longing, the same character, the same myth of life.

In this world, an idea needs a body to be expressed: the Parthenon arose from this impulse, just as did the Sirtina and the Ninth Symphony.

The human being, idea, and work have become a spatiotemporal unity that can never be separated: this fundamental insight also applies where the human being is both subject and object, where human life is in flux, where a changing number must therefore be the expression of a thought - here, then, the human being himself takes the place of the work, but with him come also the concepts of loyalty and disloyalty.

The National Socialist movement has, from the very beginning of its existence, adhered to its own law: blood and soil as the prerequisite for all action, personality as the crowning glory of a people, leadership as opposed to democratic egalitarianism, the final battle against Marxism as a whole, and the replacement of the incompetent bourgeoisie with a new elite of the nation...

But before an idea can become a formative force, a generative archetype, it is inseparably linked to its living creator: this is something that anyone who thinks and shapes ideas for themselves understands quite readily, and it is also something that even the simplest Germanic character feels just as deeply and immediately - thus, when, from the outside, the enemies of an organic uprising now attempt to ostensibly acknowledge the “greatness of the idea” and dismiss names as “smoke and mirrors,” it is quite clear that we are dealing here not with “idealistic” motives, but with shallow minds that are incapable of grasping either ideas or great personalities—and therefore incapable of evaluating them.

In my speech at the 1929 party convention in Nuremberg, I pointed out that, given the large influx into the NSDAP, many a newcomer would soon emerge as a speaker or writer without having undergone a complete transformation through the idea of National Socialism: many join in the childish belief that they will find in the party a convenient forum for their plans and schemes, since no one else is willing to listen to them.

These people then usually like to speak of the “idea,” though they are merely imagining the figments of their own imagination, and regard National Socialism merely as a test subject to see to what extent it can be adapted to these outpourings of all manner of previously repressed feelings; these people therefore also find the Führer’s personality itself embarrassing, because here the idea and the figure are already present, leaving very little opportunity for attempts to strike a pose - thus, they eagerly emphasize “loyalty to the idea” and then cite “historical” examples, which have always been a favorite pastime in coffeehouses to juggle around with.

All larger local groups are familiar with these types, and in the future, they will have to pay more attention to them than ever before.

Before National Socialism can become a rock-solid doctrine, it must first be carried through the flames of time by the Führer - thus, anyone who is truly loyal to this idea will therefore emphasize the current inseparability of the Führer and the idea, and will have to either subject people of the aforementioned type to iron discipline or—if, alongside still-remediable ambition, there is moral inferiority—expel them, for it is precisely the strongest personalities and the most self-aware members of the National Socialist movement who refuse to turn the party into a public debating club for people who have wandered in by chance, and who confuse idle chatter with problem-solving.

The National Socialist's expression of freedom lies in the unique inner acceptance of the ideology: loyalty to it is, therefore, loyalty to oneself.

The strength of this shared ideology is reinforced by supporting the Führer in the struggle against the decline of our time, in the struggle for a great German future.

## On the Victory of September 14th

**Alfred Rosenberg accompanied every electoral victory of the movement with a commentary that was at once soberly analytical and rousing - here we reproduce the essay on September 14th—the great breakthrough battle of National Socialism—which appeared in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on September 16th, 1930.**

What took place in Germany on September 14th, 1930, was not just a Reichstag election, but a referendum unlike any other in the history of German political parties: a movement that had been ridiculed, mocked, and persecuted with all the power of money, the press, radio, and state terror transformed itself in just over two years from a party that was the butt of jokes into the strongest anti-Marxist organization of the entire people.

From just 809,000 people in 1928, the number of declared members rose to 6,401,000; the number of representatives in the Reichstag grew from 12 to 107.

As of September 14th, 1930, the National Socialist movement has also gained external legitimization for its long-standing demands: it is now the sole representative of the German ideal of freedom, the ideal of social justice, and the demand to purge our entire way of life of corruption and villainy.

Yesterday, it gained the right to declare to the whole world that the Germany of the future stands in our camp: make way, you relics of the past, for the forces of rebirth—your time is up!

We will set to work immediately to consolidate our election victory organizationally, and an immense amount of work lies ahead for all our Gau and local group leaders, for now we must redouble our efforts: forward, ever forward.

The popular movement has gained momentum, but it must grow into a movement of 10 million.

On September 14th, 1930, an immense responsibility was placed on the shoulders of the NSDAP, and we solemnly vow to reward the trust of millions with tireless work; however, we also expect them to unite into an ever-stronger battle front, while the mercenaries of our opponents launch an intensified onslaught. But: we are all proud, for September 14th, 1930, did not fall into our laps as a gift of grace, but is the result of tireless work and a policy that was clearly defined, carried out with steely resolve, and maintained for ten years.

Victory is ours—now fasten your helmets tighter!

## The Emergence of the German Nation-State

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 14th, 1933 - this essay and the two that follow capture the mood of the time surrounding the great day in Potsdam in a truly memorable way.**

For decades, two camps stood irreconcilably opposed to one another in Germany: the so-called proponents of a unitary state, and the federalists.

The first group included democrats and Marxists who viewed the state merely as a technical construct and sought to build it according to the French model, without any understanding of the diversity of German tradition; meanwhile federalism, for its part, ranged from mildly particularist tendencies to separatist ideas, and did not view Germany as a federal state, but as a confederation of states, and consistently believed it had the right to place state law above imperial law: the richness of German identity was thus understood not merely in cultural terms, but also in political terms, with the word “Germany” always uttered with the tacit reservation that, under certain circumstances, one might one day be permitted to proclaim, for example, a “Rhenish Republic.”

Both groups cling doggedly to their slogans, and so it is not surprising that the compromises made thus far have torn German life apart: we practically no longer had a state, but rather a poor substitute for political affairs that simply had to be dealt with.

The infamous phrase, “After all, the country has to be governed somehow,” is the classic expression of the inner stagnation and helplessness of the Weimar system, which has now—as a French newspaper mockingly but accurately put it—died out of a fear of death.

But what is now taking place in Germany lies entirely outside the squabbling over federalism and a unitary state, outside particularistic inferiority complexes and abstract intellectual constructs divorced from real life - today, with the raising of swastika flags, the “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation” is finally being overcome from within—the overcoming of 1866, and the shattering of 1919.

“One state, one people”—the slogan of the great patriots from Hütten, through the Great Elector, to the very same slogan at the National Socialist mass rally in Vienna on March 6th, 1933—is today an expression of the innermost will from the Karawanken Mountains to Heligoland.

The bearers of the swastika banner no longer quarrel over “Greater Germany” or “Lesser Germany,” because they know that they are German—and nothing but German; they no longer argue about the past because they are the blood-soaked present, and they stand firmly on the ground of our century.

Drawing on the experience of our time, they are building a worldview and a concept of the state: they want a German nation-state whose task is to represent Germany to the outside world as a whole, unshakably united; to restore its health internally, and to govern it with social justice.

All means that lead to this goal are good, but those that do not bring us closer to this goal are bad: that is the only standard that can be applied.

But, as for which means are appropriate, only one person can make that choice, for this one person has fought for the right to this leadership and earned it before the judgment of history; now, Germany gives him the opportunity to make that choice with all his might.

That is the essence of the great transformation in Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Hamburg, Stuttgart...

The people are being “brought into line”: millions of souls do not stand against one another, but align themselves in parallel, and from this arises that great magnetic force which is now lifting the hearts of all, even those who may still offer a little resistance.

With a people that is 50 percent nationalist and the other half Marxist-democratic, one cannot pursue any kind of policy, least of all a policy of freedom; foreign and domestic policy thus converge into the problem of decisively tipping one side of the scale—and then adding the sword to it.

Following the legal popular verdict of March 5th<sup>63</sup>, our SA is now carrying this out as the executor of this will.

With irresistible force, a new state is being founded: beyond all the squabbles of the past, born of a united yearning, a new will to live is shaping Germany’s destiny, and it is futile to try to resist it any longer.

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<sup>63</sup> The passing of the Enabling Act, allowing Hitler and the German Cabinet to bypass the Reichstag and von Hindenburg when it came to creating laws. - The Translator

## The Meaning of March 21st

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 21st, 1933.**

March 21st, 1933, is a national holiday: what is unfolding gradually is a historic act, a symbol, for on March 21st, the revolt of 1918 is overcome under constitutional law.

In our mind's eye, the days of shame from that gray November reappear, when the sacred symbols were torn down and trampled in the dirt; we then see the subsequent years of cowardice and servility, the Treaty of Versailles, the Dawes enslavement, the pitiful illusions—and then, little by little, the emergence of a new—our own—spirit of resistance.

That was until January 30th, when the historic turning point came and the lieutenant who served at Königsgrätz<sup>64</sup>, and was later Field Marshal of the Great War and President of the Reich, entrusted the chancellorship to the corporal of the Great War - thus began the German Revolution, the reckoning with the revolt of 14 years ago; under the symbol of the two million dead heroes and in the sign of the swastika, the Reich draws a line under the past.

On March 21st, the death knell of Marxism begins: it was Marxism that, for decades, had dripped the enemy's poison into the hearts of German workers, rendering them incapable of striking out in the right direction.

Mentally paralyzed, millions followed the deceivers and traitors, rebelling not against the slaveholders, but against their own freedom—which is inextricably linked to the freedom and honor of the entire nation - thus, we all had to atone together, suffering at first, but now we intend to carry out this atonement through struggle, in brotherly solidarity, before the judgment of German history.

Today, awakened German workers are burning their own red flags in the marketplaces of German cities: we welcome them with a handshake, but we will hold their “leaders” to account.

From a world-historical perspective, the liberalist era had the mission of overcoming social forms that were no longer tenable and of bringing forth a new order: to this end, liberalism—without wishing to overlook individual great achievements—has proven incapable, for it distorted the emphasis on the individual into economic and political individualism, and ultimately, under Jewish leadership, it increasingly destroyed all natural bonds and thus became an element of the disintegration of the people and the state.

On March 21st, this political ideology of the last 150 years will come to an end.

“Freedom” was no longer understood as a duty to work toward something, but as a call to be unbound from everything: this “worldview”, then, is the root of theoretical treason against the people and cultural anarchy, whatever guise they may take.

Under Hitler's leadership, Germany overcame this disease of the mind and soul: that is why the simple music of the Potsdam Garrison Church resonates unchanged in the ears of a reborn Germany.

But on March 21st, the Middle Ages finally came to an end as well.

This era, though imbued with Germanic grandeur, nevertheless gave rise to the ominous spiritual conflict between the Christian denominations, leading to the extension of this spiritual struggle into the realm of

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<sup>64</sup> Paul von Hindenburg served in the Battle of Königsgrätz as a 18-year old lieutenant in 1866. - The Translator

power politics - thus, from the Crusades through the Counter-Reformation, and indeed up to the present day, these attempts have repeatedly stood in the way of a genuine Greater German national policy. Within our worldview, this great schism in German history has already been overcome through lived experience, for everyone should be free to hold religious and philosophical convictions, and every deep, genuine faith must be assured of the respect of every German - but German national policy must no longer be distorted into a means for the power-political enforcement of denominational ideas, and just as the social class struggle must disappear, so too must the religious class struggle when we speak of the protection and shelter of the German nation.

When this brotherhood of the people has become a prerequisite for everyone's existence, then the fateful legacy of the Middle Ages will have been definitively overcome: this is the deeper meaning of the National Socialist revival of the people.

We recognize that, across the centuries and through all walks of life, the German nation has been sustained by certain values whenever it stood tall in world history—these have been the ideas of honor and duty, and having carried out this renewal of character in the midst of past disgrace is Adolf Hitler's immortal achievement: he therefore bridges the chasms that separate the great Germans from Widukind to Bismarck and points, as a pinnacle himself, toward the future.

March 21st, 1933, is therefore a day of honor and consecration for the Führer, which the entire nation—spiritually united with him—will commemorate today as a day of reflection, contemplation, and hope.

At one of the holiest graves of the German people—at the coffin of the greatest king in German history—a pledge is made to the eternity of the German people, and the promise is proclaimed to fight for the nation, its purification, and its strengthening until the end of one's life.

The German Revolution marches differently from the French and Russian revolutions, for it is deeper and greater, and it is more comprehensive and more powerful: it proclaims ideas that the other, still-valuable nations of the West will one day have to acknowledge if they do not wish to perish in the quagmire of liberalism and communism.

Therefore, the German national uprising is no threat to the vital interests of others, but will one day have to be recognized as the salvation of all of Europe.

With these thoughts we go to Potsdam, and with these feelings we will celebrate this historic day: we will see our symbols united with the flags of Leuthen and Tannenberg, and at the grave of the great King of Prussia, the unity of Greater Germany will be consummated.

## Hitler, the Führer

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 24th, 1933**

On the afternoon of March 23rd, the whole world listened to the Reich Chancellor's government statement, and at that time, everyone must have felt one thing above all others: here speaks a statesman who is a born leader; here stands a man who knows how to brilliantly blend firmness of principle with the caution required of a statesman; here stands a man who is unwavering in his readiness to destroy what is unworthy of existence, and to reconcile what is reconcilable.

However, this was also a man whose words resonated with an indomitable will—to yield under no circumstances, but to carry out his mission to save Germany with firm determination.

Like hippopotamus whips, Hitler's words lashed down upon Marxism, for now, after a 14-year struggle, he now stood face to face with its representatives—and they were spared nothing.

Wordlessly, they had to accept everything, enduring without protest the condemnation of their crimes against the German people: here was symbolically embodied their powerlessness to do anything further against Germany, and the threat to neutralize foreign acts of friendship—they must have understood the message.

Germany lives—and therefore, Marxism dies.

The Chancellor's statements on all matters of domestic and foreign policy are crystal clear, for his phrasing is measured yet unambiguous, full of dignity and pride: his repeated emphasis—that he would no longer accept the division into victors and vanquished—is imbued with restrained passion.

Even when addressing issues of particular concern to the Center, one senses an unwavering resolve coupled with a composure that would make this party appear to have lost its mind if it were to vote against the Enabling Act; time and again, thunderous applause interrupted the Chancellor.

We had all reached a new goal in our struggle: our Führer is the leader of Germany, and National Socialism heralds the revolution of the 20th century.

A revolutionary spirit prevailed in the Reichstag when SPD leader Wels delivered a spineless speech, yet still had the audacity to claim that the Social Democrats, too, were fighting for German equality and honor; then Hitler rose once more and settled accounts with the Marxist leadership seated before him in a manner they had never before heard, with such boldness and contemptuous superiority.

They surely felt the lion's paw for the first time as he exposed the SPD's hypocrisy regarding "humanity" and "freedom", and made it clear to them that, if they were invoking the "right," this had already been satisfied by him, Hitler, through the election and convening of the Reichstag: if he had wanted to give free rein to the people and power alone, then the gentlemen of the SPD would not be here in the Reichstag, and that was clear.

The "revolutionary" leadership stood there, like a pack of frightened hares, small and pitiful, just as it had always been in reality; their "leader" Braun had fled, their agitator Grzesinski had fled, and they themselves were beaten down, devoid of ideas, disheartened—now they were at the end of their rope.

These blows shook the Marxist edifice to its very foundations, so that even the ruling party voted in favor of the Enabling Act - thus, the last remnants of Weimar democracy submitted to Hitler's rule.

All resistance has been broken, and the wave of the German uprising has breached all dams, because the people wanted to see Hitler in real power - thus, parliament yielded, and the Center Party consented to the rule of National Socialism.

For four years, Hitler can now do whatever is necessary to save Germany—negatively, by eradicating the Marxist forces that are destroying the people, and positively, by building a new national community, thereby laying the foundations for the first true German nation-state as the fulfillment of Germany's centuries-old yearning.

And with him, in unbreakable loyalty, goes his entire old band of fighters, for the Brown Army marches as a political pillar to ensure the implementation of all that is necessary and to make any thought of resistance impossible.

“Hitler to power!” - this cry of the nation has now become reality as of March 23rd, 1933!

Germany has awakened, and the great work begins: the day of the Third Reich has come.

## On the Germans' Becoming a Nation

**This excerpt, which appeared in the June 1933 issue of the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, also serves as the introduction to a short treatise on “Die Entwicklung der deutschen Freiheitsbewegung” (*The Development of the German Freedom Movement*), written for Germans living abroad.**

Despite the tremendous upheavals of recent months and the joy felt by all National Socialists at seeing their fourteen-year struggle crowned with victory, there are surely still many millions who have not fully grasped what has actually taken place in Germany: as always, only later will we be able to view the entire sequence of events in its historical context and in its proper perspective, based on the outcomes of future developments.

Although this has been stated several times in recent weeks, it must be emphasized again and again that between March 5th, the day of the last Reichstag election, and April 7th, when the Law on the Reich Governor-Generalship was enacted, a new German Reich was founded.

For nearly a millennium, the German nation stood amid the most intense polar oppositions, which often exceeded the natural tensions within a single nation and not infrequently shook the very foundations of Germany's spiritual fabric and destiny: ever since the time when Charlemagne directed the gaze of the German princes beyond their natural borders and shaped the dream of a world empire into his ideal vision, ever-new conflicts—arising from an internal estrangement—have shaken the body of the German people.

The struggle first unfolded between the Roman imperial ideal and the Germanic concept of kingship: this initial intellectual influence increasingly overshadowed the realities of the Germanic character and gave rise to the most bitter feuds among the German princes; added to this was the ideological development of a Roman universalism that merged with the idea of a world monarchy, which simultaneously gave rise not only to political resistance, but also to one heretical movement after another.

The so-called “Middle Ages” were by no means, as traditional historiography liked to portray them, a time of ideological peace, for only for a brief time was this “medieval worldview” politically consolidated to such an extent that any resistance seemed futile.

Protests rang out from more and more European states, leading to religious wars that raged most fiercely on French and German soil - Germany, in particular, was driven to the brink of an abyss by decades of bloody wars, and it was only from the ruins of the Thirty Years' War that the Prussian state rose as the embodiment of a German vitality rooted in blood and soil: little Brandenburg became Prussia, and Prussia eventually became Germany.

However, the political unification of 1871 was not complemented by ideological unity, and the political concept of the state under the Second Reich could not be clearly articulated because the dynasty itself—as the last remnant of the Thirty Years' War, however highly one might regard its cultural achievements—prevented the true political unity of the German nation.

Against the backdrop of these contradictions, the Marxist concept of class struggle emerged in the nineteenth century as a consequence of economic liberalism, whose crude, capitalist methods deprived millions of people across many nations of a better future - thus, alongside particularism and religious strife, the social class struggle developed as a third life-threatening phenomenon.

The Second Reich was incapable of dealing with all these conflicts, and when, after a terrible struggle from 1914 to 1918, the last reserves of German resilience seemed to have been broken, it was precisely those forces that Germany had taken centuries to overcome that triumphed once again after only four years—and more powerfully than ever before: Germany suffered its deepest fall.

But the great mystery of the last fourteen years lies precisely in the fact that, crushed to the ground, Germany only then recognized the true roots of its strength and, over the course of centuries, found its way back to its origins - as Meister Eckehart once said:

*“It is the deepest wells that yield the highest waters.”*

These words have proven true in the struggle of the last fourteen years, for the struggle of the past decade was marked by an ever-deepening overcoming of the medieval concept of religious denomination, the Baroque dynastic ideal of the state, and the liberal-Marxist concept of international class struggle: on all three of these fronts, the National Socialist movement, under Hitler’s leadership and shaped by his vision, waged this formidable struggle; and that is why the essence of these days appears to us to be, first and foremost, not the fact that a shift in political power has taken place, but rather that this shift in political forces is merely the expression of a deeper ideological experience.

That is why the National Socialist revolution has been so warmly welcomed by the millions who fought alongside us; that is why it became a revolution not of the guillotine, but a revolution of joyful faces, which, as its first symbol, organized a German Labor Day on May 1st, 1933—a celebration of peace among the people, a celebration of the inner reconciliation of different creeds and classes.

This statement, however, is not meant to imply that the National Socialist movement is in any way given over to sentimental weaknesses; rather, from the very first day of its activity, it has emphasized that it represents an uprising of the strong and healthy against all intellectual forces that espouse a philosophy which presents the sick and the weak as the sole embodiment of humanity: notwithstanding its disproportionately bloodless course, the National Socialist revolution will be thoroughly ruthless in enforcing the laws deemed necessary, and it will relentlessly remove from political life all those representatives who, whether through weakness or anti-German sentiment, have contributed to the calamities of the past decades.

Without any petty revenge—and therefore with a sense of a great mission for the future—the replacement of the old leadership classes in all spheres of life is taking place with astonishing instinctive certainty: first in the upper echelons of political power, then in the appointment of National Socialist Reich governors to safeguard the concept of the Reich in the states, and then in the restructuring of state governments and the staffing of the police.

Alongside this is the magnificent founding of the German Labor Front, which, inspired by the idea of social justice, preaches the concept of the New Reich to workers and entrepreneurs alike and, if necessary, assimilates recalcitrant elements into the new type of National Socialist working class.

In the cultural sphere, the same conquest is taking place step by step, whether in the German Academy of Poets or at German universities, from which the representatives of the bygone era are disappearing and where space is finally being made for the previously unheard heralds of a new worldview and a new concept of the state.

On the horizon of the future, the conflicts within the Protestant Church reveal that here, too, the new experience has shaken millions awake, and that these millions are now also calling for new forms of

church life: while the NSDAP, as a political party, does not directly interfere in these religious and ecclesiastical disputes, it cannot and will not prevent it if deeply committed National Socialists participate in this religious struggle for a new church.

We understand that the world around us still views the great events in Germany with a lack of understanding, for the principles upon which Germany is now being built are entirely different from those from which the statehood of democratic countries has evolved - we are, however, firmly convinced that it is not we who have turned back the wheel of history, as is arrogantly insinuated, but that, on the contrary, Germany—under severe psychological pressure over the course of ten years—has undergone a development for which other nations will still need many decades.

The problems are very similar in other countries as well, and to solve them, one cannot use the same means that were employed for 14 years, but must resolve to transition to different forms of life and government: for example, the entire democratic-parliamentary system of government is crumbling, already having collapsed in the lives of the people, and no nation will be spared from having to grapple with the same questions with the utmost seriousness, just as the German nation has done.

The great malady that the ideas of 1789 brought to Europe has been overcome in Germany—not in a negative sense, but through the positive creation of a new state—and the other nations, whether they like it or not, will have to follow a similar path in accordance with their traditions, or else be forced to do so by fate itself through bloody revolutions.

Today it is the German nation that presents a new vision to the world—one that does not look to the rights and ideas of our forefathers to test against them the laws of the twentieth century, but rather, we affirm the form of our time, and when we declare that the National Socialist revolution is also a conservative revolution, we do not mean a return to outdated cultural and state forms, but rather the preservation of the eternal character traits of the German people, for these cannot change: the people as a people can only endure if they preserve unchanging laws at their core.

On the other hand, these values must be defended and strengthened within a new environment through the technical inventions of our time, and only a child of the twentieth century itself is capable of mastering these—no longer a backward-looking scholar or a reactionary party functionary.

National Socialism thus demands the totality of humanity for itself, for while it is convinced that it embodies the essence of our century's teachings, it must also be intolerant toward the future, for only in this way can a strong foundation for the life to come be built - thus, the German revolution strides forward with powerful steps toward its realization, and the experience of the German people's emergence as a nation guarantees that, in all areas of life, the longing of many centuries will take shape: the Third Reich will become what King Henry I, Martin Luther, and Frederick the Great dreamed of.

## **The National Socialist Revolution Is Just Beginning! Its Mission Is To Establish a New Foundation for the Life of the German People**

*Völkischer Beobachter*, June 17th, 1933

The major conference of the NSDAP leadership was not an ordinary session, but rather an in-depth examination of the issues of the state and the people, labor and socialism, leadership training, and the development of social classes, which then led to discussions about current measures: this conference brought together virtually everything that today embodied the power of the state.

Beyond that, however—and this was the very essence of the Führer's great speeches—it embodied the will to shape the character of future generations.

A few days ago, an editorial in a German nationalist newspaper attempted to argue that a party—even if it is the largest—is still dependent on other collaborators: the people unconditionally follow Hitler as Chancellor, and that must surely be enough...

Such lines of reasoning prove that certain circles still have not grasped what is actually taking place in the German Reich, for what is of decisive importance is not the fact that the NSDAP has become by far the largest political party, but that its ideology simply constitutes the new foundation of German life.

All other attempts to establish a foundation for life have failed miserably because the old powers were always willing to recognize only their class or religious interests as that foundation: this development, spanning from the Middle Ages to 1933, has now come to an end.

The pinnacle of national character ushers in the revolution of the 20th century, and anyone who refuses to submit to this principle—whether a liberal, a Center Party member, or a Marxist—will be broken: it is precisely because the people of this old and most ancient system are incapable of grasping the new will of the millennium that the National Socialist revolution is not over, but is only just beginning!

Almost all revolutions have only reached the full extent of their impact—whether for good or ill—after many years: the significance of 1789 only became apparent under the guillotine in 1793, and in a different way, when Bonaparte became master of Paris - that is why the true nature of the National Socialist uprising will only emerge in its true vividness after a considerable time.

This idea of a great mission dominated the NSDAP's last convention as never before, and that is why the dedication of the Reichsführer School—a special achievement of our comrade Dr. Ley—was a symbolic act: in Bernau, where a general staff of Marxism was to be trained, the formation of the future leadership corps of the National Socialist movement is taking shape.

The most vibrant kind of training of the mind and will, camaraderie, and a spiritual fighting community—these are the goals of this new institution in the service of the Führer.

The movement has once again received an immense boost; full of confidence, for it is unwaveringly doing once more what it has done for 14 years: it is working.

## Peasantry and Culture

**Speech delivered on October 1st, 1933, on the occasion of the Harvest Festival of the League for German Culture at the Deutsches Eck in Koblenz; on the same day, the Führer spoke to 500,000 peasants on the Bückeberg.**

The new Reich has already celebrated many solemn and festive days, but two of them stand out in particular: one was May 1st, and the other is October 1st.

People have long struggled to define the meaning of May 1st, as citizens and proletarians of all nations have waged fierce feuds over this day for decades, and even in Germany itself, such battles have been fought with the utmost bitterness - thus, May 1st had become, particularly in Germany, a day of German division, and it seemed it would remain so forever.

Beyond that, however, this day was not only a bone of contention between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, for within the Marxist movement itself, this struggle had carved deep rifts: it was only a few years ago that Berlin became the scene of a bloody street battle on May 1st.

In 1933, however, this intense and highly controversial day took on a completely different character, as millions upon millions of Germans from all cities and villages flocked to city halls and large squares, where German workers were celebrated on this day; then, without any incidents, the day unfolded in harmonious, peaceful unity, thereby becoming the most beautiful and noble tribute to labor: it was a celebration unlike any witnessed on May 1st in the decades prior.

Today we celebrate October 1st, and once again millions upon millions are flocking together in all German cities to honor the peasants—the German peasants this time—and in doing so, they are fulfilling their second social duty this year.

In the times behind us, the German peasant had always been regarded as a backward class, and indeed, the Marxist movement had even made it its mission to eliminate this peasantry altogether and to replace small farms with large capitalist enterprises managed from the heart of a cosmopolitan city; meanwhile, an unworldly erudition and a highly refined intellectualism in recent decades, for their part, have repeatedly looked down on these German peasants and reduced them to objects of ridicule; in the newspapers and in the theaters, the peasantry was never portrayed in the manner it deserved.

But when we look back today at the struggle of the past 14 years, we can and must proudly declare that the honor of the German peasant has been restored by the National Socialist movement, and when today the German peasant from the Bückeberg celebrates his moment, his day of honor, we look back on German history and recall those struggles that the German peasantry had to wage over the course of the centuries.

Above all, we recall that period in the 16th century when the German peasants, the finest townspeople, and many honor-loving knights—such as Ulrich von Hütten and Franz von Sickingen—joined forces to fight against ecclesiastical and secular tyranny; this great struggle, however, ended in a terrible defeat, and when the peasants were forced to submit at that time, they sang:

*“Defeated, we return home; our grandchildren will fight better.”*

Many centuries have passed in the German lands since then—a long time before this saying became true. The efforts of Baron von Stein broke the first breach in the wall of a tradition hostile to the peasants, but it was the hardship of our time that was destined to bring about the final victory—the hardship of our time, which seemed to shatter everything, and which was now destined to finally grant the German peasant his honor and his rights, to restore them to him, and to help him attain true dignity in his work and endeavors.

When we thank the German peasant today, we believe that the German peasant, for his part, also owes the nation a debt of gratitude, for it was not the “peasant parties” that fought for the peasant’s freedom, but rather, for the honor of the German peasant, unemployed workers in all cities fought—and bled—under Hitler’s banners: this blood that was shed is the strongest bond, the strongest cement that today holds the national community together—the very force that forges city and country into an indissoluble unity. We can note with pride and joy that, whereas in the past the city was pitted against the countryside and the countryside against the city, today, conversely, city dwellers and country folk have joined hands in the awareness that one cannot live without the other, that strife and conflict between the two would lead only to the downfall of Germany—and with it, the downfall of all.

Some may now ask themselves today: what does a cultural organization have to do with such a celebration; does such a political and social power struggle concern German culture at all?

There is only one thing to say in response: we do not view the political, the social, and the cultural as separate factors, but believe that all three of these endeavors have their roots in a single, shared spiritual force, and draw their similar drive from this shared element, from this common root.

We would like to acknowledge today that the concept of culture, even under the National Socialist movement, has become quite different in our time than it was in earlier decades: in the past, culture was regarded as nothing more than what one could write and print—what one could take home in black and white; additionally, culture was also often understood as rigid psychological ideas that found their way into literature.

A form of fine art that was out of touch with reality had been highly cultivated, and thus a gulf had eventually emerged between the nation’s natural instincts and its scholars and artists: this led to a disregard for peasantry, which found its strongest expression in the cosmopolitan cities and their way of life.

We believe, however, that this era of “cosmopolitan hypnosis”—politically, socially, and culturally—has come to an end, and that we are returning to “blood and soil” because we must: today, if a symbolic image of culture has emerged before our eyes today, it is the image of the German farmhouse.

The peasant’s farmhouse was the archetype of all subsequent architecture, for from this farmhouse in northern Central Europe, inspiration and sources of strength were carried forth by all those who later called themselves Greeks when they migrated to the Balkans; this farmhouse is the archetype of the Greek temple, and remains to this day an eternal model for Germanic and Nordic architecture.

While over the past hundred years the peasantry as a whole has been in social decline, the mysterious German language has, even in the word “Bauer” (peasant), encapsulated all the creative forces that existed and still exist; it has thus given the word a comprehensive and profound meaning that transcends the narrow concept of “peasantry.”

The word “Bauer” is associated with the concept of building, constructing, and cultivating in the broadest sense: this simultaneously establishes the spiritual bond between the language and culture of a nation, a bond that leads back to those origins.

We ourselves are returning to those origins today—not out of sentimental rapture, but because the false essence of the bygone era has fallen away from us, and we yearn anew for what we must regain, for the hopelessness that has dominated the major cities and metropolises in recent decades is the consequence of that disregard and neglect of the peasantry, which drove millions upon millions from the countryside into the cities, where they only intensified and multiplied the misery already prevailing there, and where they were gradually doomed to perish in that misery.

Therefore, when we today reject the glorification of the sick and wretched human being in the visual arts and in literature, this, too, is an outflow of this new awakening, which must lead back to the healthy, primal sources and draw its strength from them: if we wish to replace the sick and wretched human being with the healthy and strong one, if we desire that future German literature and poetry place this vigorous and strong human being at the center of artistic creation, then this is a return to peasantry, because the peasant, amidst the decay, has remained the only healthy and strong element that has endured for centuries, indeed millennia, and will remain just as vigorous and strong in the millennia to come.

That we have gathered today on the Rhine is, in part, a symbol of a struggle that is not only of a governmental, political, and social nature, but also of a cultural nature.

The eternal Rhine is forever linked to German destiny, for it was the river of destiny in the past and will remain so in the future—a river for which people have suffered and fought for millennia, and which will therefore remain a symbol in Germany’s future as well.

From the Rhine, the eternal song of the Nibelungen’s plight has resounded, and it continues to echo wherever the German language is still spoken; hundreds of songs have come from the Rhine, and they are sung across the globe, wherever Germans live.

But as we commemorate the Rhine here, our thoughts also extend far into the land to the other tribes of the great German people: we think of the mysterious Black Forest, which was once the birthplace of the German fairy tale, and also the birthplace of the dreamy German folk song; we then think further of the hardy tribe of the Lower Saxons, who for centuries fought for blood and soil with a tenacity and energy matched by scarcely any other tribe of the German people.

When we recognize this, we know at the same time that the struggle once waged by the great Saxon Duke Widukind is being continued today, and that Widukind’s struggle for blood and soil was brought to a decisive conclusion in the 20th century through Adolf Hitler’s victory—that the Widukind who was defeated in the 9th century triumphed in the 20th century through Adolf Hitler.

Today, the Führer’s message from Lower Saxony will resound throughout all of Germany.

Our thoughts also turn further to East Prussia, the most endangered part of a Germany now torn into two: we commemorate this cultural and political achievement in connection with the work of the Teutonic Order, for we know that a new way of life emerged from the sword and the plow in those days.

If we wish today to look beyond the eras of democracy and dynastic concepts of statehood and return to Germany’s origins, we see at the very heart of the Teutonic Order’s ideology those ideas that, through continuous development, are now finding their realization in the Third Reich.

Thus, a shared will and sentiment runs through the German people - but when foreign countries accuse us today that the Third Reich apparently has time only to celebrate festivals, we have but one answer to give:

since 1914, Germany has been fighting for its political and spiritual substance—for its very existence—and for 14 years, everything that was great in German history has been reviled and vilified; now, at long last, this year, the foreign crust has been cast off and shattered, and at long last, Germany, in all its tribes, has the right to celebrate festivals just as other nations have always done.

We believe that when the German peasant observes the harvest festival today, he is rightly celebrating this hour of his rebirth, rightly recalling that what began many hundreds of years ago has now taken on its true form: when, on May 1st, the Führer told the German workers that the German peasant is the foundation of all German life, this is today officially affirmed and enshrined for all time.

Moreover, when the entire German nation honors the German peasant today in every city, it has every right to do so as a community, as for the first time in a thousand years—since King Henry I began the unification of Germany—we can say today that German life is no longer determined by the hierarchy of dynasties, denominations, and classes, but by Germanness itself, by the German nation and the German nation alone: today, Germany celebrates this emergence as a nation on a scale this country has never before witnessed.

Let us observe this celebration with the profound solemnity that the great experience of this wondrous year, 1933, has bestowed upon us, for in this year, the miracle has come to pass: a united Reich of all tribes, professions, and social classes has come into being, and the longing of two thousand years has taken shape.

And when we use the term “Third Reich,” we do not mean it as a chronological enumeration; rather, we wish to characterize the essence of this Third Reich by the fact that it has become the first true German nation-state, one that does justice to the greatness of Germany’s past.

To this first German nation-state we extend our greetings today—even as we celebrate the German peasantry—along with our deepest, most heartfelt blessings!

## Worldview and Culture

*“Religion, the state, politics, the economy, and art are not ends in themselves, but means for safeguarding the race and the national character: only when we have come to realize this will we have truly felt the full weight of the burden that rests upon past and future generations, and only then will we also attain the strong, unified faith for which it is a blessing and an honor to fight.”*

- Alfred Rosenberg in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 25th, 1925

## Dogmas of Humanity

From *Aus Gut Deutsch*, December 3rd, 1920

Two forces struggle within every human being: one seeks to see through life as an individual, and the other strives for union with something beyond the individual.

If the times of the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath were entirely marked by ruthless conflict, it is humanly understandable that a countercurrent took hold, one that sought to honor "humanity" and aspired toward the "universe" - however, just as restriction alone must lead to death, so too must unrhythmic expansion alone lead to the same consequence.

Here we should recall a profound statement by Goethe:

*"There is nothing more inconsistent than the highest consistency, because it produces unnatural phenomena that ultimately lead to reversal."*

In the history of nations, we have the opportunity to observe how the idea of "the individual," when put into practice, led to the catastrophe of a people: India.

We know that the Indians, as a powerful people, migrated from the north to the Indus and the Ganges; we are also familiar with their hymns and songs, and from handed-down tales and myths, ancient Indian life takes shape for us today with considerable clarity.

The Indians entered the land as conquerors, their social structure, the caste, arose from a sense of racial identity and class consciousness - thus, the Aryas (i.e., those belonging to the faithful) divided themselves into the priestly, warrior, and merchant castes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas).

Added to these as a fourth caste are the Shudras, the natives: this last division is the most important, for it is based on the recognition of racial differences - the Sanskrit term for "caste" is "varna", meaning "color."

Even in the earliest times, however, the question of the unified nature of the world arose for the Indian thinker, for the multiplicity of gods no longer satisfied him; then, in the course of his intellectual development, he arrived at the conclusion that the single force that governs and sustains the universe—the World Soul, Brahman—is identical with the mysterious inner Self, the Atman.

The personality is regarded merely as a barrier, and individual, subsequently, racial differences are viewed as superficialities and illusions - thus, the Indian logically comes to honor the divine soul—which he feels alive within himself—even in the Shudra.

From this boundless, self-sacrificing state of mind arose, as a logical consequence, the ever-widening loosening of the barriers between the Aryans and the aborigines: mixed marriages increased, and foreign minds and foreign blood began to influence Indian life, leading to more and more of its original inner greatness being lost - thus, even though a figure like Shankara<sup>65</sup> emerged, and even though Kalidasa<sup>66</sup> produced a marvelous flowering of poetry, the ever-more-numerous foreign elements encroached so strongly upon all aspects of life and so thoroughly overgrew the ancient Indian character that this decline is practically palpable.

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<sup>65</sup> 8th century Indian philosopher who wrote foundational commentaries on Hindu texts. - The Translator

<sup>66</sup> Sanskrit poet and playwright, considered one of India's greatest writers. - The Translator

Delusional cults now run rampant; the beauty of Indian art is sinking into excess and distortion, and the once rhythmically ordered course of life—learning, starting a family, and, in old age, withdrawing from the world—is increasingly abandoned, for one-sided asceticism, beginning in youth, emerges as a dogma: now India is doomed to barrenness, for the strict caste system based on race has given way to a schematism founded purely on occupational grounds and ultimately culminates in outright monstrosities. In summary: just as a sound principle, when placed in the wrong hands and rigidly pursued, ultimately leads to absurdity, so did the idea of boundless faith turn into monastic arrogance.

These facts—which at first glance appear to be merely historical—also cast a harsh light on the humanist dogma of the Masonic worldview, for if one takes it seriously, one throws open the doors to the foreign and the hostile, thus disarms oneself.

We now know how closely race and spirit are intertwined; we know that a particular race gives rise to a particular art, a specific religion, or philosophy, but that the mixing of peoples of entirely different kinds results only in bastardization in every sphere; finally, we now know that this is a crime against our very best and innermost being.

Until this dogma of humanity—which is overly tolerant toward foreigners, but intolerant toward our own national identity—is utterly condemned by Freemasonry, every lodge brother, no matter how harmless, is our enemy.

Politically, it will become clear why this is the case, for from a purely national perspective, the Masonic worldview, once it takes effect, renders valuable forces idle: there are 65,000 German Freemasons, and because of this, the German will to live is weakened by that much energy, because the foreign—in our case, the Jewish—invasor has that many more defenders.

## Völkisch Art

**From the very beginning, National Socialism refused to accept a certain unhealthy idolization of the past in art as its standard, for it was all too well understood that a new doctrine, which encompassed every other aspect of the people's lives, would eventually create something new in the realm of art as well.**

**Alfred Rosenberg first described this view, which is widely held today, in the following article published on May 10th, 1923, in the *Völkischer Beobachter*.**

The völkisch movement rightly describes itself as both an intellectual and a political movement that has broken with outdated concepts of the state and many obsolete forms of life and art, and seeks to pave the way for all that is vibrant and progressive - thus, politically, the völkisch idea found its clearest expression in National Socialism, and under its banner the most active Germans are currently fighting for a new conception of the state.

However, it is curious that, when we consider what is commonly referred to as “völkisch art”, little of this fundamental drive forward is evident.

When we speak of the concept of the state in the Middle Ages, under Frederick the Great, the French kings, or liberal democracy, we are speaking of a past in which one element or another may well serve as the foundation for a new construction of the future, yet none of these concepts, taken as a whole, has become a politically binding dogma for us.

In contrast, when we turn our attention—for the moment—to painting, for example, we observe the disheartening phenomenon that the majority of our “ethnic” painters seem spellbound, looking only to the art of the past - of course, it is readily admitted that some of our contemporary artists view the world through eyes similar to those of, say, a Schongauer<sup>67</sup> or a Ludwig Richter<sup>68</sup>, but it is strange, however, that they feel the need to emphasize their “völkisch” art precisely through frequent imitations of old forms. In this way, the proponents of this movement show that they have no understanding whatsoever of the imperatives of the present, and all too often we see them express a fundamental rejection of all the burgeoning artistic forces of the present age; they are thus doing exactly what conservatives did in the political sphere toward the labor movement, for instead of listening with a keen ear to the rhythm of the present, they shut themselves off from the entire world with books and images from bygone eras, thereby becoming indignant and astonished when chaotic movements suddenly became visible everywhere.

Just as in the political sphere where the workers' movement—which was in itself deeply justified—could be distorted by Jewish Marxism because the old national leaders in the conservative camp had become fossilized, so too, in the artistic realm, they succeeded in distorting an era's yearning for new artistic forms.

Instead of witnessing the inevitable internal break with the past and allowing the new forces—which necessarily emerge with storm and stress—to develop organically, many of our more mature national artists pounced on this new yearning as such and handed an entire generation over to a power that abused and distorted today's new yearning.

It is not acceptable to condemn the entire new era with self-righteous arrogance, but rather, we must sever ties with capable individuals who have betrayed themselves through intellectual poisoning, for the present

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<sup>67</sup> Martin Schongauer, Alsatian engraver. - The Translator

<sup>68</sup> German painter and etcher. - The Translator

age has a greater right to demand expression than the raving and lamenting over a dead artistic past, because only an artist who understands the present in all its urgency will one day find the artistic form to express it.

Here, as in other fields of art, it is of course neither theoretical considerations nor anything else but experience alone that helps: it is simply the duty of every German to await this experience and to prepare for it.

## **Toward a Worldview**

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 24th/25th, 1925**

It is necessary, even in the midst of day-to-day political struggles, to be aware that even a struggle for power within the state can be waged sustainably and successfully only if it is driven by a will born of a coherent worldview—whether purely instinctive or consciously grasped.

We believe that the present age represents a break with many intellectual forces, for many forms—expressions of former worldviews—have collapsed, are internally rotten, and are almost without resistance - but even the seemingly victorious forces came to power at the very moment when they, too, had already been internally overcome.

Millions, however, are not yet willing to admit this, for the thought is unbearable to them that they must cast aside something for which they have made many great sacrifices - thus, both the supporters of the Center and those of Marxism and democracy reject with indignation all the unvarnished attacks voiced by our side, in which one can sense the secret rage that a strong hand is shaking their decaying idols—idols they have presented as untouchable.

There is no doubt that this state of affairs may persist for some time, and that new life will emerge from a catastrophe of world-historical proportions, even if it still lacks an organizational tradition: it may form focal points here and there, whose pull is initially strong enough to captivate the desperate, but which is not yet sufficient to transform them positively.

It is precisely this current era of crisis within the movement that should prompt us to view life from a higher vantage point, and to recognize that the birth of great ideas is never a painless process: life absorbs and expels, attracts and repels, and years pass before the molecules align uniformly in a single direction... However, they can only align themselves if a central idea acts as a magnet, if an absolute standard is increasingly applied and supplants other criteria of thought and action: it is precisely in the face of this demand that the most difficult struggles often take place, for the material for the implementation of the National Socialist worldview, even in its clearest interpretation, consists nine-tenths of those who do not yet face the forms of the past with that inner freedom required to adopt, out of a new sense of life, what it demands, and to courageously cast aside what stands in its way.

The slogans under which millions are moved to march reveal the measure of an attitude toward life: a person fights and dies only for what he truly believes in.

The Middle Ages are dead, royal absolutism has died, and subjectivist democracy is rotting before our eyes - there are thus two systems entering into the decisive struggle, around which all other forces will ultimately rally:

One, communism, represents the attempt at the violent and final depersonalization of the West under the tyranny of a single, violent will; the other, National Socialism, represents the recognition of the dynamic way of life of the European peoples, which inherently includes the rejection of both the coercive state as an end in itself and unrestrained economic subjectivism.

Religion, the state, politics, the economy, and art are not ends in themselves, but means for safeguarding the race and the national character: only when we have come to realize this will we have truly felt the full

weight of the burden that rests upon past and future generations, and only then will we also attain the strong, unified faith for which it is a blessing and an honor to fight.

## The Struggles of Contemporary Artists

From *Der Weltkampf*, November 1925

A time and a people who no longer possess a coherent worldview also no longer possess art: there may be isolated artists among them, but a style is always something that coincides with a general spiritual orientation; that is why we find ourselves facing chaos today, even in the realm of art.

At the end of the 18th century, the “Stürmer und Dränger”<sup>69</sup> stood in opposition to the classical ideal, with the aspirations of the former being subdued by the defenders of Hellenism, who sought a formal canon beyond themselves: Goethe, once a “Stürmer” and Romantic, became the author of *Faust, Part 2*, and Schiller, once a revolutionary, became the poet “approaching the ancient form.”

The sensibility and creativity of the West are dynamic, while the Greek ideal springs from a predominantly static state of mind; in Europe, stillness is understood as a transitional stage from movement to movement, but in Greece, the aim was to transform even the swiftest motion into stillness. The essence of Greek culture lies encapsulated in self-contained sculpture, while the essence of the West expresses itself in the most dynamic architecture, the most internalized painting, and eruptive music; Greek culture was form, but the West was shaping—that is, perpetual activity.

Greek culture was predominantly physical sculpture; the West strove for the shaping of the soul.

When the age of the machine then raised new problems of form, it became apparent that the West no longer possessed artists, but only art professors, archaeologists, and grammarians on the one hand, and sober, but often uninspired engineers, eclectics, and mathematicians on the other.

It began—to speak first of all of architecture—with the construction of monstrous train stations, factories, and warehouses featuring cast Greek capitals, acanthus leaves, and imitations of Moorish, Gothic, and Chinese forms, combined with the crudest iron structures: all of Europe is still today overflowing with these products of an unprecedented artistic decline, and when a new generation sought to become “individual,” the infamous “Art Nouveau” emerged, whose crimes against the arts and crafts can be marveled at from Paris to Moscow and Budapest, where it continues to rage unchecked in many places even today.

Creative power had been broken because it had been oriented, both ideologically and artistically, toward a foreign standard, and was thus no longer able to meet the demands of life.

Nineteenth-century painting, too, shows us the classical schools, only to suddenly become subjectivist and end up in today’s artistic Bolshevism: whereas in the past one sought only “Greek culture,” or then only “nature,” today one wishes to do away with the object altogether and “depict” “spiritual experiences” without form; parallel phenomena to the visual arts can be found at every turn in music, poetry, and theater as well.

Art and artists are fragmented, as thousands in all camps feel this—desperately—today; they are all searching for a new connection, a new style, a new ideal of beauty—all of them, insofar as they are genuine.

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<sup>69</sup> The era of poets and artists consisting of Friedrich Schiller, Goethe, etc. - The Translator

However, the hybrid nature of figures such as Schoenberg<sup>70</sup>, Kokoschka<sup>71</sup>, and Becher<sup>72</sup> now triumphs—following the shattering of the classical standard—over our still directionless artists, who have indeed cast off the old, but have not yet found the genuine and the new; a later era will prove whether the forces of the people and the race are strong enough to forge synthesis out of chaos.

Architecture is today the foremost art form on the path to, first and foremost, becoming honest again, for its task is to overcome technology through technology and re-creation.

Anyone with eyes to see can discern the emerging quest to create a true form for the new dynamism of our lives—at work in the grain silos of California, on a steamship of the Norddeutscher Lloyd, at the Helsinki train station, and on the bridges of the Tauern Railway: the time will also come here when this new search for truth will give rise to theaters, city halls, and sacred buildings.

With pity and shame, however, a modern architect today looks down Berlin's Friedrichstrasse, at Munich City Hall, and at a thousand other products of an art that is inwardly untruthful and of an ideological chaos; meanwhile, in other arts, the controversy rages on even further, and it even seems as though the lowest point has not yet been reached.

If one now wishes to speak of the foundations of a coming art, this cannot mean rules and commandments, but only a new spiritual direction.

The nationalistic worldview and perspective on history necessarily bring with them a new truthfulness that has cast off old dogmas and shattered rotten crusts; it instinctively and consciously excludes the foreign and the hostile—the most important prerequisite for positive action—but it also brings with it an ideal of beauty that is both old and new.

Old in that racial valuation, as the great Venetians (Titian, Palma Vecchio, Giorgione) created it; as Raphael, Botticelli, Holbein, Dürer, and van Eyck depicted it, and as it came to life in Wagner's works; new, because the forces and forms of the present will envelop it.

We still have no great poet today because “we” are not truly ourselves: the Great War has not yet produced one, because deep down, no one yet knows that he was fighting and dying for a new myth. Today, millions from all nations think of the grave of the “Unknown Soldier”, and millions of Germans gaze upon solemn war graves; even recently, a plan was drawn up to erect a sacred grove in Germany in honor of the heroes of the Great War, and soon it will become clear that these 12 million men of the white race are martyrs, that they are all victims of an era in ruins and, at the same time, are also harbingers of a new one.

They, who are dead today, are the living links between the individuals among the many millions; they are the founders of the national myth; they are the most sublime witnesses to the timelessness of the ideas of race and nation: once this has been experienced, the poet of the Great War will also be born, and from this myth, too, a new culture and art will one day be able to emerge.

This mythical experience is the basis, the sole foundation of our future, as it alone makes a style of life and art possible.

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<sup>70</sup> Arnold Schoenberg, Jewish modernist composer. - The Translator

<sup>71</sup> Oskar Kokoschka, Viennese Expressionist poet and artist. - The Translator

<sup>72</sup> Johannes Becher, German novelist and Communist politician; he would later become Minister of Culture in the German Democratic Republic. - The Translator

The past created an ecclesiastical, a courtly style, and gave us Hellenistic or Roman ties; the present, then, has the task of preparing a national-racial bond—or risk sinking into civilized barbarism.

## The Theater

**From *Der Weltkampf*, November 1925 - this essay demonstrates, like few others, that the era of “specialization” is over.**

**Rosenberg, a “non-expert,” has more insightful and profound things to say about the theater than most theater experts because he views it within the context of a broader, comprehensive perspective.**

Germanic art is an expression of individuality - so, too, is theater.

The Greeks placed their actors on high red stages, bound immobile masks to their faces, virtually eliminated the personal through a vast arena, and created so-called formal laws that later, during the pseudo-classical era of the reign of pseudo-French tragedy, stifled all genuine dramatic creativity in Europe. (Greek drama ultimately offered no true inner development either, as “fate” was an elemental external catastrophe, not an event intrinsically linked to the subject.)

The Greeks stripped their heroes of their individuality—they “harmonized”—while the Germans characterized; the Greeks created form, but the Germans created expression; the Hellenes depicted the destruction or victory of the person, but the Germans depicted guilt, victory, and atonement of the inner personality.

The chains of a foreign dramatic tradition were broken by Molière and Shakespeare, as both set their plays in the midst of their own time, without pseudo-Greek settings or conventions: Shakespeare’s entire art is a single breakthrough from pseudo-classical traditions.

Lessing also established this principle theoretically, but—on the basis of a new pseudo-humanitarian ideal—laid the groundwork for a far worse poison: the Jewish theater plague of today.

Anyone who had ever been to the Moscow Art Theater before the war could have gained an appreciation of true dramatic art, for all the performers, down to the very last extra, blended harmoniously into the overall production; they were highly trained artists, and mastery of the material was a given.

Even the prompter was dispensed with, and applause was forbidden - thus, the very element that constitutes the illusion of theater and forms its greatest appeal was eliminated, for here reigned that artistic seriousness once demanded by Schiller and Goethe, producing those profound effects from which no one who had visited this outwardly unassuming theater could escape.

The secret behind the impact of the art of Stanislavski, Kachalov, and the set designer Dobushinsky undoubtedly lay in a deep, Russian-nationalist education: this attentiveness to national character and the earnest service to the spiritual values born of it provided the prerequisites for the success of the artistic programs of the theater led by “amateurs.”

Added to this, of course, is the fact that Russians are artistically gifted, particularly when it comes to theater and dance; meanwhile, in Germany, we find that while a few truly great artists emerge, the overall caliber of the performers leaves much to be desired, and as a result, the audience is expected to deal with too many abstractions—that is, they are constantly forced to overcome imbalances, which is not their responsibility, but rather that of the actors and the director.

The purely industrial operation of the Western European theater system was taken to the extreme once it fell into Jewish hands: the pursuit of the “star” still defines the unartistic nature of our theater directors today, which results in kitsch in every other aspect.

Added to this is the fact that—since thorough inner work has been abandoned—one has increasingly sought to make an impact through quantity: Neinhardt-Goldmann’s productions of *Oedipus*, for example, have most clearly demonstrated this endeavor.

The theater became a mass gathering, and art turned into mass hypnosis and sensual excitement; Mahler sought something similar with his thousand-voice orchestra.

The consequence of this intrusion of the Jewish business spirit into Western theatrical life is that we have neither a French, nor a German, nor a Jewish theater, but rather a typical hybrid product; the German tendency to bring out the hero particularly clearly proved to be its undoing in Jewish hands.

If we ask ourselves about the fundamental issues, we must be clear that there is only one path here—the path once taken by the Moscow Art Theater: listening to the national essence in both the past and the present; pushing back what is inherently theatrical from the theater itself, and the serious—I would say artisanal—overcoming of the technical and material.

All of this, however, is only possible once the foreign is once again perceived as foreign: just as Shakespeare overcame the pseudo-Hellenic “law,” so too do today’s playwrights and directors face a task of a contrary nature, which is to overcome detachment and dissolution—that is, to create a genuine national style of theater.

On the question of stage design, the controversy is gradually beginning to subside, as materialistic decoration has been definitively overcome: it gave the viewer too much and, like any imitation, ultimately came across as kitsch.

The opposite swing of the pendulum, however, led to the “reform theater”, and to stark, unnatural Expressionism - but here, too, it soon became apparent that the Expressionist (Jewish-led) stage—which was supposedly intended to distract the audience from imitation—demanded new imaginative additions, and even more: the restoration of the nonsensical, which hindered the dramatic experience.

Both extremes fell short of the essential requirements of any stage design, which is: 1. not to distract, and 2. to impose as few abstractions as possible on the audience - thus, in light of our current age of decline, this requirement amounts to something nearly impossible, which is the renunciation of effects - and yet, it is the first and last condition for the rebirth of the theater.

Various attempts have been made to establish truly national theaters, but these have collapsed for economic reasons - however, as far as I can interpret it (I confess, I am no theater expert), while they emphasized their patriotic sentiments, promised to stage only German plays, and demanded only German actors and directors, they still operated within old artistic programming templates, without realizing that we National Socialists are—and must be—not only politically, but also artistically revolutionary, because the old nationalism had become so intertwined with the economy and industry that it no longer has any connection to genuine national thought and feeling; it is utterly devoid of ideas, and is thus helpless in the face of Jewish subversive activity, driven by instinct.

If “national” German industry understood what a character-forming (and character-destroying) influence the theater exerts, and how necessary it is to continually revitalize the national soul and forge it together into a shared, genuine experience, we would have had a good theater system long ago; however, this “national” industry—and our “national” economy in general—has long been the servant of Jewish high finance, and today dares less than ever to nurture an independent, national artistic vision: their minds are

filled with coal, paper, copper, and potash, but not with national cultural ideas; their hearts beat for dividends, not for the struggle of artistic creation.

The Jewish banker pays his fellow writers of the same people and race, and lets his newspapers spread their fame; meanwhile, the German industrial magnate—and indeed the French and English ones as well—unfortunately all too often views writers and actors as parasitic journeymen.

From Vienna, the Jewish *Neue Wiener Journal* reported on October 16th, 1925, with scorn and glee:

*“As we have learned, the project to establish an Aryan theater in Vienna—where only plays by Aryan poets were to be performed by Aryan actors before Aryan audiences—must be considered a complete failure.*

*In order to have a reasonably secure foundation for the planned theater, the intention was to attempt to establish an Aryan theater association with a minimum membership of 15,000 people, so as to have at least 500 guaranteed theatergoers per day; however, despite extensive propaganda, only a far smaller number of interested parties came forward in Vienna, and the project has therefore been shelved until further notice.”*

The plundering of an entire people has succeeded almost completely, and it will take many years before a political power struggle creates the conditions necessary for cultural work rooted in the national identity: until then, however, we must have become clear about which ideas brought about this decay, and which principles alone guarantee a rebirth; to achieve this, we need, first and foremost, not so much individual new ideas as a new way of thinking, plain and simple.

## The Film

From *Der Weltkampf*, November 1925.

**Having always opposed those critics who see only the negative in everything new, Alfred Rosenberg here places film in its rightful place within a nation's cultural life.**

There is a lot of ranting about the film, particularly in nationalist circles: people point out—and rightly so—towards the immense flood of the most inferior motion pictures, the corrupting crime films and “morality” films, and draw from this a verdict of condemnation...

The art of printing, too, was once portrayed as an invention of Satan, and while it has indeed had a satanic effect in many ways, none of us would want to do without it: nothing in this life happens without trade-offs, and one must accept the flaws that come with one's virtues, for certain qualities inevitably give rise to their polar opposites.

Film is a matter of style, just like the theater, and the essence of the theater is undoubtedly drama—that is, emotional depth and the inner connection between human beings and fate, whether tragic or comic; applying this theatrical concept of style to film was the root cause of the evil we now call “cinematic drama.”

Theater is three-dimensional, and film is two-dimensional: in theater, one moves from the interior to the exterior, but in film, one must begin with the image—that is, start from the outside; it is therefore contrary to its style and unfair to demand of this new medium of expression anything other than what it is inherently capable of achieving.

The first commandment of film is therefore: do not engage in psychology, but tell a story through images, for only when one has decisively adapted to this two-dimensional mode of expression can one hope to ultimately stir deep emotions in the viewer.

There is no question that, over the course of many years of experience, German film directors have come to embrace these views, but at the same time, however, they are striving to expand the possibilities of film in a direction that is, by its very nature, forever beyond the reach of the theater.

Drama, in the true sense of the word, and the art of storytelling—drawn from legend and the present—are what are being revived in film today, and which is exerting that great influence on millions that we can observe everywhere; adventure and crime films have also certainly caused a great deal of harm, but I will take the liberty of expressing the heretical view that film has also helped to make a spring—one that had nearly dried up amid the grime of the big city—gush anew for millions: the imagination.

Just imagine today's city without film: vast stone deserts, dirty courtyards, gray walls, flickering lights in the center, and human restlessness: the theaters have been made inaccessible to many millions, but suddenly, these forsaken souls are now given the opportunity to wander to distant lands, to experience adventures, to laugh at the grotesque, and to weep over “emotions.”

A whole world passes by on the screen, and in the midst of the age of the dead machine, a new romanticism has been born.

The dark room gives everyone the feeling of being alone and unobserved; ordinary inhibitions fall away inwardly, the rusty imagination awakens, and perceives the unfolding play of light as reality—indeed, unconsciously as a medium that carries us across time and space.

The play of light has become a substitute for millions of books: today's adventure-seeking boy reads less Karl May, and instead, he watches Tom Mix<sup>73</sup> at the movies, and admires Marco's powers<sup>74</sup>; thankfully, however, the young girl reads less Marlitt<sup>75</sup>, Eschstruth<sup>76</sup>, and Heimbürg<sup>77</sup>, as instead she now has Henny Porten and Asta Nielsen.<sup>78</sup>

One shouldn't get too worked up over certain silliness and sentimentality, for they, too, are part of life, and there has never been a time—no matter how great—when one did not have to pay tribute to what is all too human.

One should therefore not hypocritically reject the film (those who do so publicly often secretly enjoy going to the movie theater themselves), but rather be aware that its invention has placed a tool in human hands that, when used purposefully, can make millions of hearts beat in unison.

Today, the art of cinematography has become a film industry that is, for the most part, in Jewish hands, and accordingly, film has become a means of corrupting the people through salacious depictions, and the other intention—to glorify criminality—is just as evident today as it is in the Jewish press: at the same time, all of Europe is being flooded with American productions which, insofar as they are grotesque, trigger a peculiar urge to laugh, but which in every other respect are so hopelessly shallow, stupid, and devoid of culture that they, too, actually pose a great danger.

Quite a few Scandinavian and German directors have endeavored to restore the film's tarnished reputation, with some success: recently, amid the furious outcry of the Jewish film studios, a patriotic enterprise was founded in Berlin.

The censorship authorities in Marxist-misgoverned Prussia, however, which had unhesitatingly allowed almost all offensive films to pass, even ban the mere mention of King Frederick William III and Blücher in the title: this shows that the anti-German camp is striving, even through cultural-political detours, to prevent the political resurgence of our people, and that all problems today ultimately boil down to a question of power.

In almost all countries, matters have reached a point where the struggle against the great trusts can no longer be won by economic and artistic means alone, and therefore, the absolute imperative arises here as well: to support with all our might those political power groups in the theater and film industries that provide the people's imagination with worthy material, seeking to uplift rather than poison and corrupt it.

The practical and feasible course of action would be for all nationalist associations to join forces to establish model movie theaters; existing German enterprises must also be assured of support, so that they, in turn, may place their artistic expertise at the service of the national cause in the deepest sense of the word.

Perhaps this suggestion offered here will not be entirely without consequence, for in Budapest, for example, the "Awakening Hungarians" own three movie theaters, the proceeds from which also facilitate their nationalistic educational work - thus, with a good, artistic, yet diverse and folk-oriented program,

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<sup>73</sup> American actor and star of many early Western films. - The Translator

<sup>74</sup> Unsure of what film or star this is referring to. - The Translator

<sup>75</sup> E. Marlitt, pseudonym of Eugenie John, a female German novelist who wrote about social issues. - The Translator

<sup>76</sup> Nataly von Eschstruth, female German novelist and one of the most popular authors of the Wilhelmitic era; she often wrote about courtly life, using her own personal experiences. - The Translator

<sup>77</sup> Likely referring to W. Heimbürg, which was the pseudonym of Bertha Behrens, a female German novelist. - The Translator

<sup>78</sup> Two popular female film stars in Germany at the time. - The Translator

and with a united will, good results could certainly still be achieved in Germany as well, leading to the final and complete elimination of Syrian-Jewish influence.

## Houston Stewart Chamberlain

**In the book of the same name<sup>79</sup>, published by Bruckmann-Verlag in Munich, Rosenberg expresses his deep gratitude to Chamberlain, who, when Rosenberg was fifteen, first gave him, through his writings, an understanding of the major issues of the time and who, in a sense, served as a kind of intellectual mentor to him.**

It had been interpreted in Germany that the struggle, which deliberately began around 1200, resumed precisely in the 19th century, with the attack led by “Völkerchaos,”<sup>80</sup> Rome, and Judea, supported by peoples and states that short-sightedly believed they could align everything national and state-related with these destroyers—a belief that is now, likewise, beginning to take its sinister revenge.

More than ever, therefore, the complete works of H. St. Chamberlain demand attention in an enslaved and betrayed Germany, for self-reflection and the reawakening of buried, innate spiritual sources; the struggle for German intellectual and political ideals, and a deepened, new nationalism, combined with German-socialist renewal—these are the demands of the present and the future.

Chamberlain’s work has not been in vain, for if one were to remove his work from the intellectual history of the last three decades of German life, a dreadful ode would reign in its place: his fiery battle cry against the enemies of German national character and against ossified scholarship did, after all, strike a strong chord, and brought the startled Pharisees and scribes from all camps onto the scene.

They left no stone unturned in their efforts to thunder down both the man and his work, but it was, however, in vain: now the best Germans have once again been able to breathe freely and look the “popes of evolution”—who heralded the monistic century—in the eye, just as freely as they do the ecclesiastical and political obscurantists.

The banner of German consciousness, which Martin Luther once took up, which then fluttered in the hand of Frederick the Great, and then fell, was raised high again by Bismarck and Moltke, and was carried safely into the 20th century by the gentle yet fiery H. St. Chamberlain; now it lies in the dust, awaiting the “man with the lion’s heart” who will take it in his strong hand and, fighting his way through today’s German misery, can carry it into a new future.

No one knows exactly what this future will look like, yet the direction of the struggle is clearer than ever before - the question, however, is this: will we succeed in grasping and teaching the ideas of the greatest Germans—which H. St. Chamberlain has reshaped for us—in such a way that they become the guiding principles of a popular movement?

Bringing this problem closer to a solution is the highest duty of every German; the German Houston Stewart Chamberlain has also laid the groundwork for this, and has pointed the way from darkness into the light.

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<sup>79</sup> “Houston Stewart Chamberlain als Verkünder und Begründer einer deutschen Zukunft” (*Houston Stewart Chamberlain as the Herald and Founder of a German Future*), 1927. - The Translator

<sup>80</sup> The “chaos of races”; Chamberlain used this word to describe the Habsburg empire. - The Translator

## Dietrich Eckart

**Preface to the first authoritative work published on Eckart's writings and life: "Dietrich Eckart, Ein Vermächtnis" (*Dietrich Eckart, A Legacy*), Franz Eher-Verlag, 1927.**

When the news of Dietrich Eckart's sudden death reached his friends in late December 1923, it seemed more incomprehensible to them than any other report of a death, for they had felt all too deeply this man's great vitality, the strength of his temperament, and the impetuosity of his will.

Five years of tireless struggle had left an indelible impression on all who knew Dietrich Eckart of a unique, headstrong, self-assured personality—an experience that, especially in times of moral decay and the dumbing down of character such as our own, had a doubly lasting impact.

Thus it is that even now, whenever we think of this fearless man, streams of spiritual strength flow from his grave in Berchtesgaden—streams of which we need more than ever, since perjury still triumphs, and the times are leaving their mark on the face of society even more blatantly than before.

These commemorative pages are intended to help keep alive the memory of one of the finest members of the German people, while at the same time proudly recalling the ranks in which Dietrich Eckart fought for a German future; finally, these brief words are meant to represent a small part of the gratitude that the editor owes to Dietrich Eckart—first as his selfless patron, and second as his friend.

Like many Germans, I feel it is my duty to ensure that Dietrich Eckart's name and work are preserved and cherished until the day when both have become the common heritage of the entire German people.

## Man and Woman

From *Der Weltkampf*, April 1926; the fundamental ideas of this work were later placed within the context of a comprehensive intellectual overview and elaborated upon in greater detail in the work *The Myth of the 20th Century*.

The man approaches the world and life by inventing, shaping (architecturally), and synthesizing (synthetically), while the woman approaches it lyrically: even if the average man does not always reveal great intellectual architecture in everyday life, the fact remains that great state-building endeavors, legal codes, archetypal organizations of a political, military, or ecclesiastical nature, comprehensive philosophical and cosmological systems, symphonies, dramas, and temples—all and every one of them, for as long as humanity has existed—have been created by the man's synthetic spirit.

In contrast, woman represents a world that, in its beauty and distinctiveness, stands not in the shadow of man's, but on an equal footing with it: it is the Amazon-like "emancipated" woman who is to blame for the fact that women began to lose respect for their own nature and adopted man's highest values as their own, as this signified a spiritual disturbance, a reorientation of feminine nature, which even today drifts aimlessly—much like, conversely, masculine nature, which, instead of attending to the architecture and synthesis of existence, began to worship the idols of humanity, philanthropy, pacifism, and the liberation of slaves.

It is also a mistake to regard this as a "transitional stage", for thanks to the "emancipation movement," women have not become architectural, but merely intellectual (as "Amazons") or purely erotic (as representatives of the sexual revolution).

In both cases, she has lost what is most essential to her, yet has not attained the masculine; the same applies—conversely—to the "emancipated man."

From a woman's perspective, the state, the legal code, and philosophy could be regarded as something external - why, after all, do we always need forms, schemes, and consciousness; is not the flowing, spontaneous, and unconscious aspect of the deepest experience greater and more beautiful? Must works always be created to prove the existence of the soul, and are these forms and works of man not often born of a lyrical-feminine atmosphere that would be inconceivable without women?

Life is being and becoming, consciousness and the unconscious at the same time - thus, in his eternal becoming, man seeks to create a form of being through the formation of ideas and works, attempting to shape the world into an organic-architectural structure.

Woman, meanwhile, is the eternal guardian of the unconscious: the Norse-Germanic myths portrayed the goddess Freya as the guardian of eternal youth and beauty, and if she were taken from the gods, they would age and wither away.

Translated into today's language, this means: the preservation of our race lies in the hands of women, and any people can still rouse themselves from political subjugation, but not from racial contamination.

If the women of a nation give birth to Negro or Jewish bastards, a deluge of enthusiasm for niggers and for nigger "art" will continue to sweep unhindered across Europe as it does today; if Jewish brothel literature is allowed to continue entering our homes as it does now; if the Syrian from Kurfürstendamm is still regarded as a fellow countryman and a potential husband, then a time will come when Germany (and Europe) will be populated in its intellectual centers solely by bastards - thus, with the doctrine of "erotic

rebirth,” the Jew today—and indeed with the aid of the teachings of women’s emancipation—is attacking the very roots of our entire existence; if anywhere, the preaching of racial purity is the holiest and greatest task of women today.

This means guarding and preserving that unconscious, as yet unformed, but precisely for that reason primordial life—the life upon which the substance, character, and structure of our racial culture depend, those supreme values that alone make us creative.

However, instead of paying attention to this most important and greatest thing, many women fall for the loud, distracting clamour of the enemies of our race and our national identity, and are, in all seriousness, ready to scratch the eyes out of men for the sake of ballots and seats in parliament.

Allegedly, in order not to remain a “second-class citizen,” women have been driven to demand the right to vote; meanwhile, their instinct for choosing a husband is being corrupted by *Elegante Welt*, *Dame*, and other magazines and works—whether overt or covert—that infect the soul and the race.

Today, women spend their money in Jewish department stores, whose storefronts reflect the glittering decay of a dying era, and today’s liberal or mildly nationalist man is too weak to stand up against the prevailing tide.

A woman’s lyrical passion, meanwhile—which in times of need can become just as heroic as a man’s will to form—seems to have long since been buried beneath the rubble, and it is the woman’s task to clear away this rubble; in doing so, the man should assist her, for the emancipation of women from the cause of women’s emancipation is the first demand of a generation of women who wish to save the people and the race—the eternally unconscious, the foundation of all culture—from ruin.

However, lest I be misunderstood after all this as wishing to resurrect the way of life of the Biedermeier era<sup>81</sup>, let it be noted that the days of the garden arbor and the “dreamy girlhood” are, of course, definitively over: women naturally belong in the overall life of the people; all educational opportunities must be open to them, and the same care must be taken for their physical fitness—through eurythmy<sup>82</sup>, gymnastics, and sports—as for men.

Under today’s social conditions, they must not face any difficulties in professional life either, although maternity protection laws would have to be enforced even more strictly; however, our efforts will be directed toward breaking the anti-national, democratic-Marxist system of exploitation and paving the way for a social order that no longer forces young women—as is the case today—to pour in droves into the labor market, which consumes the most vital feminine energies.

Women should have every opportunity to develop their abilities, but one thing must be clear: that men must be—and remain—judges, soldiers, and leaders of the state.

Today, more than ever, these professions demand a no-nonsense, even rugged attitude that recognizes only what is typical and universally national; it would be a dereliction of duty toward our past and future if men were to yield on this point.

The toughest man is just tough enough for the iron-willed future, and only when prison and the death penalty are imposed for racial and national mockery—for racial dishonor—will steely nerves and the most rugged creative forces succeed in forging the coming archetype.

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<sup>81</sup> The era between 1815 and 1848 when women’s rights were practically nonexistent and women were effectively property of their husbands. - The Translator

<sup>82</sup> An expressive art movement that sought to use body language as a form of art through rhythm; this movement was founded by Austrian guru and philosopher Rudolf Steiner. - The Translator

Different souls must not be leveled or “balanced,” but must be respected as organic beings and nurtured in their uniqueness, for the architecture and lyricism of existence form a dual harmony: man and woman are the poles that generate life’s vitality.

The stronger each being is in its own right, the greater the success in work, the cultural value, and the will to live of the entire people: anyone who presumes to undermine this law must expect to find resolute enemies in the true man and the true woman, and if no one stands up against racial and gender chaos anymore, then ruin has become inevitable.

## Beethoven

As can be seen particularly from *The Myth of the 20th Century*, Rosenberg shares a particularly close intellectual connection to the heroic classical music of Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner: this essay, published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on March 26th, 1927, on the 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death, arose from this love for great German music.

It is a strange feeling to know that, while an entire world, whipped into a frenzy, gazes hostile toward Germany, on March 26th, in all countries and cities that still claim to have a culture, the anniversary of one of the greatest figures of that same German people will be celebrated with festivity.

Hundreds of thousands will listen to Beethoven's music on the hundredth anniversary of his death; millions will read about him in newspapers and magazines, and even in Paris and Warsaw, the topic of German culture will inevitably come up again.

Thus, like a force from time immemorial, Beethoven still tames and unleashes the hearts of people today—today more than ever, for today the whole world is in turmoil, and craves something willful and titanic.

From among all the great figures of the Germanic West, two types of people emerge: one seeks to conquer the mystery of life—like a besieged fortress—from all sides, as it were, in order to subdue it through a strategy that encompasses the entire world; that was the intellectual and spiritual attitude of a Leonardo, a Descartes, a Kant, a Leibniz, and a Goethe, for in all of them lived the longing for a universality of the all-encompassing spirit, an all-encompassing striving and seeking.

The other type tackles the mystery of existence with redoubled energy, approaching it almost exclusively from one side; he seeks to shatter the fortress in a storming assault to lay bare its innermost core: that was the primal drive in Michelangelo, in Rembrandt, in Schopenhauer, and in Richard Wagner.

Beethoven also belongs to this second type, for he “seized fate by the throat” and professed his belief in strength as the morality of those who distinguish themselves from others.

In its intellectual struggle, our time needs less of a slow, strategic method than a one-sided, intolerant attitude, for when old values crumble and new ones are born, all forces naturally rally with single-minded determination against a few focal points—ultimately, it is against a single center of power: just as surely as a time of rhythmic relaxation will follow victory and the epic poets and “classicists” of life will once again begin to exert their influence then, so surely is the one-sided, will-driven approach the primary force today.

That is why, although many commemorative days are celebrated now, none could unleash forces as profound as the hundredth anniversary of Ludwig van Beethoven's death, for anyone who has grasped the essence at work in our movement knows that a similar impulse lives within us all—one that Beethoven embodied in its highest form.

He embodies the feeling of storming over the ruins of a collapsing world; he embodies the hope for a will that shapes a new world; he embodies the intense joy shining through passionate grief:

*“Run, brothers, along your path,  
joyfully, like a hero, to victory!”*

Such is the climax of the Ninth Symphony.

For one day, let us shape ourselves, participating in the greatest expansion of the heart, in the awareness that the German Beethoven towers above all the peoples of the West, and is regarded by the best among them as a center of genuine creative power; let us also remember then that Beethoven can and must provide us with the driving will for German creativity, for today we live in the Eroica of the German people.

## Paul de Lagarde

From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 10th, 1927.

Among the men who will one day be remembered as prophets of the new worldview, and co-founders of the people's state, one stands out in particular: Paul de Lagarde.

A small circle knew and revered him, but even today that circle remains far too small: if even if a man of austere rigor, incorruptible consistency, and self-assured detachment—such as Lagarde—cannot become “popular” in the ordinary sense, he will nonetheless at least have lived on in the hearts of several hundred thousand people.

The great future that he proclaimed and demanded, Lagarde believed, still lays ahead of us; he saw himself as both a conservative and a revolutionary:

*“I am too conservative not to be radical.”*

He thus quite deliberately forged that new synthesis which is taking place today among the broad masses: to preserve the old, ancient essence of the nation and race, and to ruthlessly cast aside everything that has been instilled in us—and has poisoned us—in the way of “ideals” of a Masonic-humanitarian, Oriental, or international nature.

*“We no longer possess any ideal because we are juggling too many ideals: it is a situation that is untenable in the long run when, in the space of a few hours, a student hears realistic, scientific arguments presented as authoritative philosophy, followed immediately by classical dogma and Christian and Jewish dogmas of faith... No true personality, no healthy state can grow out of such a hodgepodge of worldviews.”*

“That the German Reich is not viable is now plain for all to see,” Lagarde wrote in 1887, at a time when the German people naively believed they possessed a strong, unified body:

*“The imperial question is a secondary issue: one should not offer a stone to the people who want bread, but neither should one hand them a crown when they need a soul, bread, and a sword.”*

The people are afflicted by a longing for a new worldview, for the forms of today's religion no longer fill them with the fervor of earlier centuries—they have become mere formulas.

The struggle between the old and the new would and must bring about a tremendous conflict of conscience:

*“Paul brought the Old Testament into the Church, and the Gospel has, as far as possible, been lost under its influence.”*

*“Religion is a personal relationship with God; it is an unquestionable presence... It is completely incompatible with this insight to place historical events in an essential relationship to piety.”*

*“The state cannot create a religion, but it must not artificially suppress life or strive to breathe life into spectres.”*

*“The fact that a nation as such requires a national religion—that is, that every nation needs a national religion—follows from the following considerations: that nations do not arise through physical procreation, but through historical events, for historical events are subject to the workings of Providence, which guides their paths and goals.*

*Therefore, nations are of divine institution, as far as they are created: if this is so—if they have not come into being through the regular course of nature, nor by chance—then their Creator has linked a purpose to their creation, and this purpose is their essential principle; the recognition of this purpose is a recognition of the divine will, which intends for this purpose to be fulfilled.*

*Without this recognition, the life of the nation and the nation itself are inconceivable - thus, to recognize anew, time and again, the mission of one's nation means to plunge into the well that bestows eternal youth: to serve this mission always means to attain higher purposes and, with them, a higher life.”*

*“We are afflicted by the necessity of carrying out in 1878 what should have happened in 878.”*

Lagarde walked through life alone, seemingly hard and brusque, but with that radiance in his heart that is the result of a strong faith - thus, Lagarde has opened the window and the door to the future for some of us, for there must and will soon be many who, having experienced his life, will feel around them the familiar breath of a free, clear, and yet yearning humanity, paired with an unyielding will. Only this rebirth and this finding of a home will enable us to overcome all that stands before us today as hostile, even deadly.

## The Struggle Against Cultural Decline!

**This appeal, published in May 1928 in *Der Weltkampf*, was the seed from which the large organization known as the “Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur” grew.**

We are faced today with the fact that, hand in hand with the political decline fostered by forces hostile to the people, a systematic struggle is also being waged against all German cultural values: literature of a foreign racial origin, allied with the dregs of the big cities and promoted and paid for by like-minded, parasitic upstarts, has united more than ever to rob the German character of its last remaining resilience against forces hostile to it.

To this end, paid hacks are used to ridicule everything that is uniquely German, and at the same time, thanks to the internationally coordinated press cartel, truly value-creating forces in all fields are silenced; furthermore, men are paid to distort the essence of Germany’s great figures, with the aim of robbing us not only of the present and a belief in the future, but also of our pride in the past - thus, in all cultural spheres, the international mongrel openly takes center stage in place of what is true to the people, emboldened by the knowledge of the power of the financial-capitalist forces behind it and the international press—which is only by chance still written in German.

In place of the Germanic values of courage, honor, and righteousness, pacifism, cowardice, and profiteering are already being praised as progressive and intellectual, with virtually no opposition; furthermore, a vast number of vile weekly and monthly periodicals of an “erotic” nature are deliberately set on poisoning the minds of the younger generation and rendering them incapable of leading a German rebirth - thus, it is the primary goal of the League (or Federation) for German Culture to combat this obvious moral decline, and to fight for German character values and our own distinct culture.

This organization was founded by National Socialist circles, but its call for cooperation and joint struggle is directed at all Germans who still possess a sense of national identity, both within and beyond the political borders of the Reich; membership in the National Socialist German Workers’ Party is therefore not a requirement.

Rather, we hope that in the defense against all anti-German forces in the cultural sphere, precisely those individuals with a sense of national identity will come together—even those who, when it comes to the political reorganization of Germany, may believe they must take a different path than the NSDAP. To all these individuals or organizations scattered across a similar front, National Socialism makes available tens of thousands of active supporters—something that all previous cultural associations lacked, and which—along with a lack of the boldness to engage in ruthless openness—explains their failures.

Recognizing that the final confrontation between the contending forces can be characterized by the terms “race” and “chaos,” the League will emphasize racial solidarity as a prerequisite for Germany’s overall culture, and will strive, in every possible way, to spread awareness of this bond—which alone guarantees creativity—to the widest possible circles in all areas of culture.

Racial researchers, visual artists, scholars from all disciplines, etc. are to advocate this fundamental insight through word and writing in the struggle against the bastard ideas of the International, which corrodes all that is genuine, while writers, journalists, and public figures are called upon to enlighten the still inadequately informed strata of the national German intelligentsia regarding the true state of our theaters and our entire literary tradition, and to rally them to the struggle.

Fichte precisely characterized the essence of Germanic civilization with the statement that every culture is a culture of the spirit: it is therefore our duty to ruthlessly preserve the entirety of German spiritual values as a prerequisite for all cultural activity, and to duly denounce the brazen attacks against them that occur daily in the press, in public life, and in the legal system.

If we succeed in bringing together—in this struggle against the bastardization and denial of our existence—a group of German men and women who are spiritually strong, yet at the same time resolute and willing to make sacrifices, then an expansion of our work will follow naturally. (Utilizing existing culturally conscious newspapers and magazines, supporting German scholars or artists who are currently suppressed, organizing exhibitions, influencing theater repertoires, film screenings, etc.).

The purpose of the League (or Federation) is stated in § 1 of its proposed bylaws as follows:

*“The League (or Federation) for German Culture has the purpose of defending, with the utmost determination, the values of the German character in public events and in any other form that presents itself, and of promoting every form of independent expression of German cultural life.*

*The League sets as its goal the enlightenment of the German people about the connections between race, art, science, moral values, and military values; it sets as its goal to bring significant Germans—who are now silenced—closer to the public through speech and writing, and to promote, with the utmost vigor, a unified German cultural identity without regard to political borders; it aims to create, by uniting forces that support these endeavors, the conditions for an education in schools and universities that recognizes national identity as the foremost value - in particular, it also aims to awaken in the younger generation of all social classes the understanding and the will to recognize the nature and necessity of the struggle for the cultural and moral values of the German nation in pursuit of the freedom that must be won.”*

A large number of German men and women from all professions—regardless of their political affiliations—have declared their willingness to launch the struggle for German intellectual freedom and creative potential, but we now also appeal to you to support this difficult struggle that lies ahead, in whatever way you are able—whether as a regular member of the League, as an organizer, or as a supporter who recruits new members.

## Representatives of a Vanishing Intellectual Tradition: Count Hermann Keyserling

From “Der Sumpf” (*The Swamp*), cross-sections of the “intellectual life of the November Democracy”, Franz Eher Nächst Publishing, Munich. 1930.

**This book, which unfortunately received far too little attention at the time, remains one of the most compelling documents of the National Socialist struggle to this day, with its essays—some bitter, some brimming with wit—that are concise and incisive in their critique of the cultural decline under the old system.**

A few years ago, Count Keyserling, this teacher of wisdom, was the talk of the town when his magnum opus, *\*Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen* (*A Philosopher’s Travel Diary*), was published - everyone was asking: “Have you read ‘A Philosopher’s Travel Diary’? Magnificent, global in scope, phenomenal! A portrayal of the East and the West; the finest psychological analysis of all time!”

And indeed, Keyserling’s book was fascinating, as the wise man (H. St. Chamberlain called him “volcanically stimulating”) interwove shifting personal moods with the ever-changing environment during a world tour; built new philosophical aesthetics upon the gleaming black back of a Negro; lost himself in the Red Sea and in the presence of the Indian Ocean; describes the culture of the mandarins while contemplating Chinese chopsticks, and never finds himself closer to Indian wisdom than when contemplating Japanese images of Buddha.

Keyserling has a girlish aversion to any “crystallization”, as time and again he wishes to surrender himself and immerse himself completely in the spiritual essences of foreign peoples, and ultimately prophesies that, “if anywhere,” we will find our fulfillment in America.”

Keyserling bears a heavy burden:

*“How easy it is for introverted natures of limited intelligence! People like us remain uncertain until we know, and it is so hard to know.”*

Although the outwardly robust, inwardly sensitive count, his soul so utterly dissolved, cannot find the strength to coalesce, he is deeply convinced of his mission for humanity—of his “pioneering spirit”:

*“My path will indeed increasingly become the path of all, for the process of intellectualization is advancing inexorably.”*

Unfortunately, the hundreds of millions in Europe are not in a position to sail to India and China on luxury liners, their souls stirred, and immediately jot down every hint of a thought in their large notebooks, thereby following in Count Keyserling’s footsteps: the path of the future seems to us, then, to be not a problem of the intellect, but a problem of the will.

We believe that the coming way of life in today’s decaying world will be forged not by witty eclectics, but by people of unyielding, steely will: above all, however, not by people with such embarrassing self-satisfaction and philosophical coquetry as Keyserling.

An uncle of his once aptly said:

*“Hermann can take his ego in hand; then he sets it on a table like a Christmas tree and admires it.”*

The *Travel Diary* and his “Einführung in die Schule der Weisheit” (*School of Wisdom*), etc., are delightful testimonies to this self-admiration, and even the count’s well-groomed mustache, tapering like a long needle in the Chinese style, is likely to be seen as an outward sign of the inner synthesis of East and West that he has embraced.

It goes without saying that Keyserling also reflected on “Germany’s true political mission”: this took place after the war, as during the war, he spoke and wrote of the Russians and their allies as “we” and “us.”

And what does this all-pervading philosopher discover? First of all, that the old monarchy had been a mere facade, and that the revolution therefore merely brought what already existed to its ultimate expression: granted!

But what did this “already existing” reality consist of? Every conscious German would say: the plutocratic democratic system that was bleeding us all dry—already championed by Rathenau in 1914—became our master, coming to symbolize itself completely through the rule of the Barmats and their friends; it was thus the mockery of the social ideal that triumphed.

But Count Keyserling thinks differently, for he says:

*“The German Reich had essentially been a social ‘republic’ for years.”*

We recommend this passage to the *Vorwärts* and the *Berliner Tageblatt* so they can spread propaganda on behalf of the colony of international high finance as well as for democracy.

According to Keyserling, base forces were indeed at work, but they merely “helped the ‘noble’ to victory”: Dawes, Erzberger, the German Reichstag, and so on can thank the philosopher, then, for their glory.

Keyserling sees Bolshevism as the “embodiment of the will to die of a dying world”: very nicely put, but isn’t this Bolshevism the direct continuation of that “Higher Power” that was led to victory in 1918?

Well, Keyserling also finds Bolshevism “ideal” in the sense “that even the will to death can be ideal” - but this ideal cannot be realized, he says, “as long as the masses are not made up of angels”: that is about the most shallow way in which intellectual philistines grapple with this great problem; Keyserling’s statement that, “If Christ had believed that his kingdom was of this world, he would have had the power and resolve to carry out his mission on a grand scale; he, too, would have become a Lenin,” could have come from the mouth of Erich Mühsam<sup>83</sup> or some other Schwabing apostle of salon Bolshevism.

I recently saw a movie in which a clumsy man has the following conversation with a lady:

He: *The weather is nice today.*

She: *But look, it’s pouring rain.*

He: *Yes, if it weren’t raining, it would be the most beautiful weather.*

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<sup>83</sup> German-Jewish anarchist who was heavily involved with the Bavarian Socialist Republic in 1918. - The Translator

This parallels the logic of Keyserling's comparison: the fact that Christ did not wish to establish his kingdom here is what defines his essence, and the fact that Lenin knew nothing of any kingdom other than one of brutal annihilation of the individual was his essence.

We're in deep trouble if we ever wanted to recognize men like Keyserling as "pioneers", for Germany's mission is, first and foremost, to dispel the rebellious swarms of eclectic, patchwork wisdom, and to put a stop to feminists who, from a safe distance, portray Bolshevism as just one ideal among others.

The sensitive "pioneer of humanity" wants nothing to do with antisemitism either: of course! A modern person who, with worldly superiority, rejects the "crystallization" of the self is, after all, relentless on one point: that antisemitism is a scandal to him.

It would indeed be unthinkable: how could the rabbis, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the world press promote "modern spirituality" if one were an antisemite? His entire reputation as a "great philosopher" would be ruined in a week! But whether the count—who, incidentally, was a shrewd businessman—ever entertained such thoughts, we do not know.

Let us assume that the views of his "intellectual" comrades had no influence on him, that his own nature thus drove him to portray a black person as absolutely perfect, while rejecting—with schoolmasterly indignation—the attempt by the "Nordic man" to defend himself against racial mixing - with this in mind, Keyserling wrote in his magnum opus:

*"The Negroes of Aden are absolutely beautiful, because the racial type is perfected in them."*

He then went and recruited the president of the B'nai B'rith Order for Germany, Rabbi Baeck, as the chief teacher for his "School of Wisdom," to teach the Germans how they were to think! (One need only read, for example, Baeck's book, "Wesen des Judentums" [*The Essence of Judaism*], as from it, one can see that Kant, Goethe, and others did nothing more, in fact, than appropriate Jewish wisdom: perhaps the count will next recruit a flat-footed gymnast from the Maccabi Sports Club to demonstrate to us the correct ideal of beauty as well...)

In addition to the rabbi, Keyserling also devoted himself to the harmless, good-natured Tagore<sup>84</sup>, who was paraded around in Berlin and elsewhere for the *Berliner-Tageblatt* audience to marvel at—for a hefty admission fee.

Incidentally, Chinese, Tibetan, and Indian secret teachings are also being concocted at the School of Wisdom: the philosophical Art Nouveau is thus heading toward its most beautiful fulfillment.

The busy Count Keyserling has also made inroads into astrological circles (or perhaps they sensed in him a leader): in the first issue of the monthly journal *Der Okkultismus* (September 1925), Keyserling wrote the lead article, while his portrait (with his head tilted to the side in the Chinese manner) occupies a place of honor.

In this lead essay, Keyserling writes:

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<sup>84</sup> Rabindranath Tagore, Bengali poet, author and playwright, who was the first non-European to win a Nobel Prize.  
- The Translator

*“What they (the School of Wisdom) practice is not theory, but magic, for its fundamental laws—which differ fundamentally from the rules of scientific instruction—have always been known, even if they are still scarcely understood.*

*The only truly new element is probably the technique of our great fall conferences, at which I reframe the world’s problems—both in themselves and in the souls of the participants—and thereby solve them by treating them in a polyphonic and orchestrated manner.”*

*“With this, I hope to have said enough to inspire a closer study of the Darmstadt Center: this is, in fact, a magical center, although nothing outlandish, nothing occult in the usual sense, takes place there, and the first lesson imparted to every new student is that one may well have more, but by no means less, than common sense, and that holding opinions rather than insights is immoral.”*

After describing the successes to date, Keyserling concludes:

*“This will now continue until the same applies to all problems and to so many individuals that a new, deeper level of meaning—and with it a new, higher type of human being—has become historically decisive.”*

As can be seen, the Grand Kophta of Darmstadt has set himself lofty goals: he wants to create a new type of human being who is to shape our history, and that is why we have every reason to take a closer look at the “Darmstadt Center,” its leader, and its admirers.

Keyserling is a witty, well-read man of effervescent eloquence who, lacking any genuine inner substance, is no longer capable of mustering a belief in true values, yet is strong enough to help all those who gnaw at German national character achieve a scientific glorification: he is a philosopher of dissolution in a feminist age.

While there may be those today who support and glorify him, a generation that finally wants to be true to itself will one day consign Count Hermann Keyserling to the cabinet of intellectual curiosities—as one of its finest specimens.

## Blood, Soil, Personality

**From the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, November 1932; the issues raised in this essay regarding racial-spiritual struggles throughout history are discussed in detail in *The Myth of the 20th Century*.**

Adolf Hitler has repeatedly and emphatically maintained the view that the decline and rebirth of a people does not depend on good or bad economic programs, but rather on the strength or weakness of the worldview that this people holds, for the more unified, powerful, and life-affirming such a worldview is, the greater the people's resilience will be in the face of a hostile environment - thus, the collapse of 1918 occurred primarily because the German nation was not sustained by a unified worldview, and because many worldviews vied for the soul of every German, with the result that just as many imposed dogmas tore apart the German psyche.

These were dogmas that not only differed in their endorsement of certain means and methods, but were diametrically opposed to one another: while one political worldview placed the protection of the people and the state at the forefront, this thesis was rejected by the Marxist International, and the "United States of Europe," a "culture of humanity," and so on were proclaimed as the ultimate goal to be striven for; additionally, while some had already been teaching a nationalist worldview through the words of a few prominent figures, various religious denominations clashed to such an extent that it was possible for representatives of both sides to place their respective creeds above the fate of the entire nation - thus, a Catholic priest named Stegmann dared to declare in his work that he felt closer to a Spanish Catholic than to a German Protestant, and in the treatise "Die Kirche und das Dritte Reich" (*The Church and the Third Reich*)<sup>85</sup>, a Protestant clergyman made the same claim regarding German Protestants.

Amid this chaotic struggle between various worldviews, National Socialism emerged—not as the result of a jumble of dazzling ideas, but as a fundamental rebirth of the German people.

The National Socialist worldview was based on the conviction that blood and soil constituted the very essence of Germanness, and that cultural and state policies must be driven by these two realities; that the health of the blood was the prerequisite for every great achievement, and that therefore the greatest goal of domestic and foreign policy must be the preservation and strengthening of this blood.

This self-understanding of the National Socialist movement coincided with an in-depth study of names, which built upon the discoveries of Gobineau, the laws of heredity formulated by Gregor Mendel, and the works of Günther<sup>86</sup> and Darre<sup>87</sup>—all of which, as it were, opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands of Germans: the abysmal hatred of a truly convinced Bolshevik was now understood as a genuine expression of a humanity that was stunted or poisoned in terms of blood, and it was also realized that, in contrast, the heroic element in all areas of life was closely linked to the Nordic racial component possessed by the German people.

The five races of Europe were not understood by current in-depth research in purely materialistic terms, but rather, we understand today that a person's outward appearance is accompanied by a very specific character and a very specific spiritual disposition; the intermingling of the various races is thus also an intermingling of different souls and spirits, and in this way, many a seemingly chaotic complex of the

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<sup>85</sup> Published by Leopold Klotz in 1932. - The Translator

<sup>86</sup> Hans F.K. Günther, prominent German eugenicist and National Socialist. - The Translator

<sup>87</sup> Walter Darré, leading National Socialist ideologue in blood and soil philosophy and agriculture. - The Translator

present falls into place before our eyes—though, of course, not every single phenomenon can serve as conclusive evidence.

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From this inner experience of the present, a new perspective on history was also born: the figures of the past now appeared in a completely new light; things that a liberal worldview had suppressed came to be understood as the truly important events, and so-called world history unfolds today not as a struggle of abstract principles, not as the fulfillment of a “plan” ultimately conceived by human minds, but as a dramatic struggle between different races and their souls.

Greek history, for example, no longer appears to us as a supposedly organic whole, and we no longer strive desperately to interpret the most contradictory characteristics evident in Greek art and politics as the expression of a single nation; on the contrary, the many conflicts of Greek mythology and the wide variety of depictions in the visual arts appear to us precisely as the struggle of the most diverse peoples. The Greeks, as tribes of the Nordic race, migrated from the Danube Valley to the Balkans and, in fierce battles against the Near Eastern inhabitants, conquered the land that would later be called Greece; Greek civilization then engaged in bitter battles, particularly with the Pelasgians, and just as men wrestled with one another, so too did the Greek gods of light and the heavens battle the Asia Minor gods of night and the earth - thus, the Nordic patrilineal system clashed with the Asia Minor matrilineal system; the Nordic sense of restraint clashed with Asia Minor ecstasy, and the figures of Apollo and Athena clashed with the Medusas and the Asia Minor Bacchanalia.

For a time, the Greeks of Homer’s era ruled over Hellas and the coastal regions of Asia Minor—once, there were twenty Asia Minor slaves for every Athenian—until finally, through racial intermingling, the Hellenic character was diluted and corrupted, lost its inner self-assurance, and—as a result of this racial and spiritual fragmentation—the man of late Hellenism emerged, a characterless Levantine who was never again capable of building a Parthenon or composing an *Iliad*.

These characterless late Greeks then fell victim to a younger, more vigorous peasant people, the Romans, who, while summoning the “Graeculi” to Rome to educate their children, trampled them underfoot whenever it suited their whim - thus, after bequeathing his artistic gifts to posterity, the Greek disappeared from the face of the earth as a human being, and with him that racial spirit to which we owe the culture and scholarship of Hellas.

From this perspective, many events in Persian, Indian, and Roman life can also be explained.

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The Germanic peoples, too, had to struggle to shape their own inner lives before they created what is called a “civilization,” and today, after 2,000 years of directly accessible history, a remarkable transformation has also taken place in the assessment of Germany’s past: this is evident above all in the reinterpretation of the figures who stood at the forefront of political struggles.

Today, Charlemagne no longer appears to us as the founder of the German Reich, for on the contrary, his adversary, the Saxon Duke Widukind, is now a symbol to us of the preserver and protector of innate character as a prerequisite for the desired national culture rooted in blood and soil; it is also for this reason then that the Greater German initiatives of the later Saxon emperors—notably Otto the Great—appear to

us as a continuation of that struggle, and the efforts of the episcopal system within the medieval Church appear to us as the culmination of those struggles against a world-political absolutism centralized outside Germany.

For this reason, too, all the Germanic scholars of the past centuries appear to us as representatives of the Faustian, inquiring Germanic spirit, and not those who sought to stifle this thirst for knowledge with numerous dogmas - thus, our great physicist Philipp Lenard states in his work “Große Naturforscher” (*Great Natural Scientists*) that the period from 100 B.C. to 1500 A.D. was a “time of decay” for science, as it was the time when Greek civilization was in decline, and also when the great migrations of peoples made the systematic development of a worldview impossible, up until the time when the ancient biblical dogma began to prevail and the Old Testament was not only revered as a religious book, but was also regarded as a work of natural science - thus, all of natural science was now guided by the books of Moses, and anyone who truly engaged scientifically with the world and the universe—with the laws of blood circulation and plant life—was, like the monk Roger Bacon, hounded throughout Europe, and ultimately even killed.

Thousands upon thousands of “apostates” lost their lives in the service of the Germanic spirit of inquiry; however, this spirit of inquiry finally triumphed throughout Europe around 1500, and served as the prerequisite for the free inner development of the German people as well.

The National Socialist worldview emerged from this standpoint of the guardians of blood, character, and soil, and it recognizes as its third highest goal the development of the individual personality, which it does not view as a random, monstrous phenomenon, but as the most beautiful flowering of the national character—an inquiring and artistically creative national soul.

Personality, therefore, does not stand in opposition to the masses, but is merely the highest expression of a national will; finally, to protect blood and personality, the people need a space in which they can till the soil, sow, and reap; in which they can live with dignity, and in which they ultimately also have leisure to pursue profound thoughts, develop their spiritual worldview, and pass it on to future generations.

Amid the terrible daily political struggles, then, the National Socialist worldview stands unshakable as a driving force and source of inspiration, and while different views may exist regarding the path to the goal, the shaping of this grand worldview always remains the greatest task of today’s freedom movement.

Herein lies the secret of our successes to date, and here, too, lies the sole force capable of carrying this political popular movement as a never-ending stream through the German lands, thereby laying an unshakable foundation for today and for all future generations.

The 20th century is an era of intellectual and spiritual upheaval, the kind that perhaps occurs once every half-millennium, or perhaps even once every millennium: this era will change the face of Germany, and it will lead the German soul back to its roots, from which it has always drawn strength whenever it grew strong and became fruitful.

This is what this great struggle is all about, and political power structures and economic plans are all merely means in the service of preserving German blood and the strength of the German people; everything else must be subordinated to this task, and only when this understanding has been inwardly accepted by the entire German nation will the prerequisite be met for securing German rights in the world.

## A Revolution in the Visual Arts?

**Although a staunch opponent of excessive dogmatism, especially in the field of art, Alfred Rosenberg was compelled to intervene in July 1933 in the face of a growing non-racial artistic movement: he did so in speeches for the “Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur”, as well as in essays, the following of which was published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* and in the July issue of the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*; a short pamphlet of the same title was also published in December 1933 by Eher-Verlag.<sup>88</sup>**

The political revolution of National Socialism is, for the time being, the most important stage of the movement; however, it is genuine only because it represents the outward manifestation of a spiritual and psychological transformation of the German people, and this great upheaval, therefore, does not exist in and of itself, but is directed toward a specific goal and driven by a specific will: that is why more and more areas of life are being swept up by the surging waves of the movement, with millions of souls being stirred anew and spurred on to create.

The visual arts, too, have long been embroiled in a bitter battle of opinions, and it is entirely understandable that National Socialists who are politically like-minded still hold very different views on matters of art—indeed, that opinions often clash quite fiercely when it comes to evaluating certain artists: there is unanimity, for example, that the insincere pseudo-Baroque buildings of the 19th century are just as intolerable as the “engineering art” of that era, and there is also unanimity that prevails in the assessment of Art Nouveau.

All National Socialists are also likely of one mind regarding the grand exhibition of masculine fashion spanning many centuries, known as the Siegesallee<sup>89</sup> - but, in contrast to this unity, a spirited debate rages over men such as Nolde<sup>90</sup> and Barlach<sup>91</sup>, for while one group of National Socialist artists wants to exclude these two from the vision of a future art, another, calling itself revolutionary, holds them up as examples.

If we attempt to form a judgment that transcends all subjectivism and corresponds to the style of National Socialist thought as a whole, we will have to conclude that, despite all the differences in fashions and traditional dress, despite all the millennia, and despite all the political upheavals, a distinct ideal of beauty has dominated artists of the Nordic school, for nowhere is this powerful, nature-inspired ideal more evident than in Hellas, yet it also dominates Titian, as well as Palma Vecchio, Giorgione, and Botticelli, who painted figures that are downright Gretchen-like; this ideal is just as evident in Holbein’s work as it is in the depiction of Gudrun and Goethe’s Dorothea, and it dominates the face of Pericles just as much as the Bamberg Rider.

Quite apart from whether the individual fully corresponds to this ideal, as long as the longing for it remains alive, the nation is true to its nature and connected to it: it is this instinctive quality that unites here with form and shape to pave the way toward the future, for example, in the fields of painting and sculpture.

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<sup>88</sup> Under “Revolution in der bildenden Kunst?” - The Translator

<sup>89</sup> “Victory Avenue”, a boulevard in Berlin meant to honor the Hohenzollern dynasty; it was destroyed during the Second World War. - The Translator

<sup>90</sup> Emil Nolde, German Expressionist painter; despite being a member of the NSDAP and sharing its views, his art was labeled as “degenerate art”. - The Translator

<sup>91</sup> Ernst Barlach, German Expressionist sculptor whose works were condemned as “degenerate art”. - The Translator

If, from this perspective, one now asks how one should view Nolde and Barlach, one will be able to say—at least, I believe this for myself—that both artists undoubtedly possess a remarkable talent: a seascape by Nolde, for example, in the Crown Prince's Palace, is painted with power and force, but hanging next to it, however, are several portrait attempts, which are Negroid, irreverent, crude, and devoid of any genuine inner creative force.

Barlach, for his part, masters his material with virtuosity, and no one would deny the monumentality of his woodcarvings - but what he creates in his depictions of people is alien, utterly alien: a massiveness enslaved to the earth and a delight in the sheer weight of matter; these are no "Mecklenburg peasants," oh no, they stride across the earth quite differently from that Barlachian humanity!

And finally, just look at Barlach's Magdeburg "War Memorial," which he created for the local church: small, half-idiotic-looking Mirow-style variations of indefinable human types wearing Soviet helmets are supposed to symbolize German Landsturm men! I believe that every sound-minded SA man will reach the same conclusion here as conscientious artists.

As for the Noldes and Barlachs, I have found that they are admired by "revolutionaries" who, for the most part, have very little exposure to the visual arts, but simply feel compelled to get involved here as well - incidentally, it is no coincidence that Nolde and Barlach, for example, were so enthusiastically thrust into the spotlight by the November gentlemen, for they have evidently sensed that these two artists represent a deviation from Germanic art, much as Otto Braun represents a deviation from German politics.

Let us readily admit that a painter or sculptor of truly great style, who would genuinely give expression to our movement, has not yet emerged: this should prompt us to wait with humility.

We should simply admit this, but not frantically elevate artists who are already obsolete onto a pedestal merely to have forces to oppose the reaction, as these forces are not genuine at their core—and that is decisive.

These remarks are in no way intended to stifle the drive to move forward, but on the contrary! An old world has sunk forever, and in place of a dreamy romanticism, as I endeavored to note some six years ago, a steely romanticism has taken its place, which resonates in millions and seeks expression; it therefore does no harm to try different paths, but for every true National Socialist, this search lies outside the bounds of political definitions.

How the German landscape is perceived, how the heroic image of the German fighter takes shape—these are matters on which instinct and aesthetic judgment must be tested, and the outcome of this struggle will then determine the form and substance of our future.

## In the Struggle for German Science

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Berlin, August 12th, 1933 - it is to Rosenberg's credit that he has restored science—which was overestimated in one era and underestimated in another—to its rightful place in intellectual life.**

Some time ago, after the Reichskonkordat<sup>92</sup> was concluded, we had already been forced to acknowledge that the *Osservatore Romano* had published some peculiar commentaries on the matter.

On August 9th, on the occasion of the upcoming Salzburg University Weeks, the Vatican newspaper published a lengthy essay that makes it exceptionally clear that certain intentions—which amount to forcing all of German scholarship to conform to the dogma of a single denomination—are out of the question - the Vatican newspaper states the following verbatim:

*“The new German order of the 20th century will endure only if it truly brings to completion the renewal of scholarship that it has so promisingly begun: the prospects for this are extremely favorable.*

*The so-called lack of the prerequisites for scholarship—which in reality was nothing more than the uncritical absolutism of one's own prejudices; the distortion of intellectual freedom that was allowed to devolve into intellectual anarchy; the boundless skepticism that left, in essence, nothing remaining—neither commandments, nor faith, nor truth; the self-serving nature of science, which led to an alienation from the world and to excessive specialization; the aversion to synthetic inquiry, and the preference for endless fragmentation—all of this seems today to have been overcome and to be outdated.*

*The thinking of our time is once again turning toward faith and the spirit, toward the Idea, toward a metaphysical truth, toward God: science is once again drawing closer to the great traditions of Christian philosophy and, above all, to the Christian view of the significance of research.*

*It is also once again giving rise to the desire for true spiritual, creative work of inner insight; it is once again attempting to penetrate the life of the nation; it once again consciously seeks to serve everyone.*

*The new German government has removed from their professorial posts those scholars who did not feel capable of following this new direction: this is good, but it is only a beginning, for the necessary reform in scientific circles can receive a strong impetus through administrative measures and by retiring those who are unable to adapt to the new intellectual direction - this, however, can only be of value insofar as it clears the way and creates sufficient intellectual space for the positive renewal of science.*

*Only creative scientific work is capable of definitively overcoming false scientific convictions, erroneous research ideals, positivism, rationalism, and skepticism: it is in this area that the Catholic scientific work of our time must begin, for it faces the greatest challenges in renewing research activity and scientific study in Germany, and whether Germany can stand at the forefront of science in the future will depend decisively on its ability to do so.*

*The rebirth of German science in the spirit of the finest German tradition—that is, the rebirth of German science in the Christian spirit—cannot take place unless the clarity of Catholic thought regarding the world and the supernatural, the greatest traditions of Catholic thought and research, and the unchanging firmness of Catholic dogma regain their full value in the intellectual life of the nation: these are the major issues that the Salzburg University Weeks—which will take place again this year from August 22nd to September 5th—must address.*

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<sup>92</sup> The Reichskonkordat between the Third Reich and the Holy See, signed on July 20th, 1933. - The Translator

*The initiative of the Catholic Salzburg Weeks deserves the warmest support of all Catholic Germans, especially since the University Weeks are intended to lay the intellectual groundwork for the founding of a pan-German Catholic university in Salzburg: this will make it possible—and, as we hope, soon a reality—for the creative, scholarly Catholic force to penetrate German intellectual life in a united and steadfast manner.”*

It is a grave error in reasoning on the part of old institutions to believe that, now that other institutions have become untenable due to progress, they can immediately fall back on a gray past: European scholarship had to pay dearly, with blood, for its right to freedom and research when, in the struggle against the medieval worldview, the Germanic people began to assert themselves in all nations, and it is therefore entirely misguided of the *Osservatore Romano* to believe that it can present the reintroduction of a denominationally based “scholarship” as a new German order of the 20th century.

Exactly the opposite is true: the 20th century is reviving the heroic ideal of research, which had been forgotten by a shallow, liberal generation, and the new science of race and the soul, along with the new historical science, are at the very heart of the experience of our time, and go far beyond all attempts to once again constrain these insights with abstract dogmas.

It strikes us as somewhat odd, then, that the *Osservatore Romano* of all publications should present adherence to outdated medieval research methods as the prerequisite for Germany’s ability to lead the way in science in the future; the paper’s editorial staff has apparently not yet fully grasped what is happening everywhere in today’s world, and the *Osservatore Romano*’s outburst might therefore result in the awareness of the new scientific mission of the 20th century taking even more vivid and deeper root in the hearts of teachers and students in Germany than it already has.

The National Socialist revolution of our day is not taking place to revive the ideas of the Inquisition or the High Baroque, but to defend the rights of our time.

## **The German Rebirth**

### **Speech at the opening of the German Cultural Days in Cologne, early October 1933.**

The domestic political struggle in Germany is over; what is still unfolding now are the aftereffects of a fading era, and as I speak these words, I believe I can say that I am fully aware that today's events in Germany are not mere coincidences, and that this is not merely a shift in power, for if the entire German revolution had had only the goal of overthrowing the old political order in order to bring new governments to power—even if those were great political goals—then this great movement would have missed its mark.

Rather, we were aware throughout these 14 years that this was about more than just political goals, and that the struggle for power was merely the outward manifestation of a spiritual and intellectual conflict: that is why we have attacked our opponents not only politically, but specifically in their worldviews. We have been clear from the outset that a Marxist worldview can never be overcome merely by police or state measures, for no matter how much one may condemn and criticize this movement, if one cannot counter it with a stronger will, deeper thought, and a more ardent longing, one will never gain mastery over it: the events and outcomes of the last ten years have proven that this stance was correct. They have also demanded an unprecedented willingness to make personal sacrifices, and they have further shown that thousands of people discussed these issues with one another, whereas previously they had been addressed, at most, within a small, exclusive circle: the fact that thousands upon thousands—indeed, millions—flocked to the large rallies demonstrates the profound internal upheaval in the thinking and feeling of the German nation, and that is why the fate that has befallen us has simultaneously become the cause of this profound inner awakening.

I believe I can say that, even if the National Socialist worldview has not yet taken complete hold, the defining characteristics of National Socialism have already become common knowledge.

The German people's attitude today has once again become heroic, not in a purely militaristic sense, but heroic in the face of fate, in the approach to research, and in the demands that today's experience places on art: when people speak of science today, for example, while the older generation understood science to mean a peaceful repose within the universities, it is only in recent months that this tranquility has been shaken by a new era.

When the gravest accusations are leveled at us from abroad, as if the new movement were curtailing the freedom of the researcher, we protest against this: the freedom of research has not been infringed upon, but on the contrary, we believe that space has once again been created for this freedom, in contrast to what has been taught at Germany's universities in recent decades.

Today, the German people claim the right to represent their worldview, their art, and their culture in German universities: this is what a victorious movement is entitled to claim, but it expects that the freedom of research will not be confused with the freedom to denigrate history, Germany's great past, and its great figures.

Today's theories of race and heredity have been ruthlessly attacked; they have been declared unchristian and something to be fought against, and yet, in reality, the situation is exactly the same as it was 400 years ago, when people's eyes were opened to certain laws of nature; to halt this awakening, under the influence of a foreign doctrine of humanism, countless idiots and inferior individuals were housed in veritable

palaces of sickness, while millions of Germans who were healthy in body and mind lay on the streets and starved.

These principles were wrong, for they contradict the laws of nature, and nature takes its revenge in the worst possible way by wiping entire peoples off the face of the earth: the history of the heroic Roman and Greek peoples serves as a living example.

We believe today that, in the true sense, there is no such thing as world history, but only the history of various races and peoples.

I believe I may assert that German history, too, takes on a different light when I say—and no one in western Germany need feel offended by this—that Charlemagne was not the true founder and champion of the German imperial ideal: we must understand that the Frankish state at that time was a domestic power, but that at the same time that Charlemagne also placed his state in the service of a universal ideal, and to this end, he made the peoples and races his vassals; peoples in every country resisted this, and his most bitter enemy was Widukind, the Duke of Saxony.

Our history books portray Charlemagne as the founder and champion of the imperial ideal; today's revolutionary movement, however, sees the other figure—the rebel Widukind—as the founder of the empire.

We have no intention whatsoever of belittling the figure of Charlemagne or the later German emperors, but the assessment has shifted - and so, viewed from our perspective, this runs through the entire course of German history, where we see this most clearly again in the case of Barbarossa, who time and again shed the blood of new Germanic hordes in Italy and Palestine, until Henry the Lion, the Lower Saxon, rebelled against him and refused to follow him; as a result, the Saxon dukes laid the groundwork for the future German people.

The fact that today, by virtue of character, the population of the West is closely linked to our brothers on the fertile ground of the East is the consequence of the act of rebellion by the Saxon Duke Henry the Lion, and the Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg and Prussia continued to follow in these footsteps: that is why the picture of history, viewed from today's perspective, is quite different from what the textbooks have told us.

This also brings an old problem to the fore, for these great struggles of a political nature were, in essence, struggles of the soul and of character: a liberal school of thought in recent decades has gone to great lengths to prove that power and the spirit, state and culture, do not actually belong together organically, and that while they might coexist, the spirit and the pursuit of power are bound to clash time and again. People have repeatedly pointed to the years 1805–06 - at that time, they say, Weimar culture was in its highest bloom, led by Goethe; at the same time, however, Germany lay politically powerless on the ground, so we know today that this claim is false.

Take a look at Dinkelsbühl, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, or Nuremberg, and you will find that the creative power evident in the construction of the Gothic houses, and that the churches in these cities bears witness to a great cultural heyday; these houses are surrounded by defensive towers, and all of this together forms a unity of culture and martial grandeur - thus, we can still admire this spirit of defense today in all of Germany's medieval cities, coupled with artistic power.

Between that era and our own lies the bloody Thirty Years' War, which nearly destroyed Germany; then, afterward, there were no longer any free people, but, as Schiller says, only masters and servants.

It was only gradually, after many decades, did small cultural movements begin to grow and take shape, giving rise first to the Weimar cultural circle and, later still, to Bayreuth - but when we examine these today, we must acknowledge that these cultural circles did not lead to a German national culture, and thus, the Second Reich had failed to understand its great mission.

It engaged in global trade, it flourished in an unhealthy economy, it possessed magnificent armaments, but it had suffered damage to its soul - thus, the prophets of that era—Lagarde and Nietzsche above all—suffered from this inner conflict.

Nietzsche, who is only now, in our own time, celebrating his resurgence, felt the suffering of this century more deeply; he lamented this inner conflict, but at the same time, he rejoiced that the inner, valuable core of the German people had not been lost.

Nietzsche was not understood, however, and he died in the midst of such a sick era, one that was not enthusiastic about healthy vitality and a strong culture, but only about sick people: during this time, Europe was inundated with literature that fostered this sickness, and just as the sick person repeatedly touches his wounds, so too did sick Europe devour this literature in order to touch its spiritual wounds again and again: Dostoevsky's sick man became the sole definition of humanity.

For us, the sick man is no longer of interest, as for us, he no longer stands at the center of artistic creation; instead, it is the strong, healthy man in his struggle, in victory, or even in his heroic defeat that stands before us.

The ancient Greek satirists are all forgotten today, but beyond them, the song of the *Iliad* resounds to us through three millennia, because it placed at its center a humanity that corresponds to our very nature, one that is eternal in this song; the Song of the Nibelungs also still resounds today throughout all German regions, singing of the Germanic spirit, honor, and loyalty, and which will endure as long as the German people can still speak and think in German; this finds its magnificent embodiment in *Faust* through the song of Hildebrand and Gudrun.

We, too, have profound symbols today - on May 26th, the 10th anniversary of Albert Leo Schlageter's death, all of Germany spoke of this man; radio stations and all the newspapers wrote about him, and on that day the entire nation was, for once, united.

Every day, in almost every village and city, we all sing the immortal song of Horst Wessel, and we realize today that this is a remarkable twist of fate—that one person is both a fighter for a new Reich and, at the same time, a martyr and the singer of his own martyrdom; I believe that these examples show better than anything else how deeply the longing for a heroic way of life runs through all social classes and professions.

We must add one more day to this list of symbols, namely October 1st, which we celebrated throughout the Reich: the Day of the German Peasant!

You know that our opponents have fought against the peasantry for decades; you know that this peasantry waged a great struggle for its internal and external freedom in the 16th century, and you also know that it was defeated at that time.

The German peasant, however, is the very source of all life, and if we did not have peasants, the great cities would soon be deserted, because there, people come and go and die, and only a few generations are able to carry on the line.

The German people will not forget that their freedom was won not only by the peasant, but that the unemployed city dweller also fought for them, and shed his blood for them as well: this bond is the strongest link between city and countryside.

What is unfolding in Germany today signifies a new hierarchy of values, for all struggles—whether political, social, or spiritual—are struggles over the highest values; they are struggles over which ideas—in worldview and character values—are placed above all others.

For several centuries, two religious denominations stood opposed to one another, wrestling with each other for centuries on end: there was neither victory nor defeat, but rather a compromise under whose rule we still live today.

Then, after the Thirty Years' War, the struggles between the various royal dynasties took place, and in the 19th century, people fought over class values - thus, within nations and peoples, worldviews and historical perspectives emerged from class theories.

Once again, the German nation is struggling for new values, and in doing so, it finds that it must return to the most ancient values, where it sees the essence of the entire National Socialist revolution embodied in a single idea: national honor! This single idea is entirely sufficient upon which to build a new political system of government, to cultivate a new economic philosophy, and to foster a new economic ethic.

The National Socialists are the Prussians of the 20th century, for after the Thirty Years' War, Brandenburg saved the essence of the Germanic peoples from dishonorable princes and carried it over into our time through Old Fritz<sup>93</sup>; however, our longing is not to impose the German way and German thought on other peoples, but rather to reflect on ourselves and preserve our culture for ourselves.

We want, at long last, to become one with ourselves: this is the longing of our days, which runs through millions of German hearts.

And at the end of this great yearning lies what we call the Third Reich: we do not, however, mean a simple sequence of a first, second, and third Reich, but rather, we say that the first was a Roman Empire of the German Nation, the second was a power-politic state without a secure ideological foundation, and the third is the first, true, German nation-state!

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<sup>93</sup> Nickname for Frederick the Great. - The Translator

## Foreign Policy

*“As it awakens, the German nation demands the right to equality—a right already enshrined in documents and solemnly promised—and expects the repeal of certain articles of the Treaty of Versailles that discriminate against us, because it believes that satisfying the German nation will also bring a wave of genuine, universal peace throughout the world.”*

- Alfred Rosenberg speaking at the Party Congress in Nuremberg in 1933



Alfred Rosenberg in London

## United States of Europe?

From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 13th–14th, 1925.

In recent months, as propaganda for the “League of Nations” has intensified, so too have the activities of the so-called “Pan-European Society”, as various media outlets are conducting surveys of politicians and writers to find out what they think about the so-called “United States of Europe.”

For example, the *Neue Wiener Journal* has just launched such a survey and asked a number of well-known figures from all countries to share their opinions on the following questions:

1. Do you consider the creation of the United States of Europe necessary?
2. Do you consider the establishment of the United States of Europe possible?

In response to these questions, French Finance Minister Caillaux stated that 20th-century patriotism would merge with European identity, and that the “Easter Day of the European Union” will come—it will come, just as inevitably as the laws of physics exist.

Ignaz Seipel, the former Chancellor of Austria, meanwhile, hopes for the same, and calls for a “revision of the concept of the state” altogether! Anton Svelah, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, expressed similar views.

As Jakob Lippowitz, the Jewish editor of the *Neues Wiener Journal*, explains: the border posts of European states have proven to be veritable pillars of torment for every European citizen; Maximilian Harden, Albert Einstein, Alfred Kerr, and, of course, Dr. Gerhart Hauptmann, Heinrich Mann, and Dr. Thomas Mann have expressed similar views!

As can be seen, a whole host of prominent figures agree with the slogan of a United States of Europe, yet it is, of course, clear that most of them understand something quite different by it: Mr. Lippowitz and his associates are certainly thinking of a single Jewish private syndicate, just as Walther Rathenau had envisioned, where all nation-states would then have to submit to this syndicate; Ignaz Seipel, however, surely dreams of the medieval rule of the Church, while the others are pursuing their very real foreign policy goals.

Whatever the individual motives may be, the fact remains that there is a strong movement toward some form of European union, and we must therefore address this issue and state our position on it.

Undoubtedly, an awakening is taking place throughout the world: the awakening of the Near and Far East—against a racial backdrop—is plain to see, and the African continent, too, has begun to assert its claims in a similar manner; only a fool can believe that this pressure from outside Europe does not also demand a unified European stance.

This awakening of the Near and Far East is the response to the predatory economy and the corrosive influences that mercantile Europe brought to India and China in the wake of its political conquests - however, this unrestrained predatory economy and predatory policy has not only fostered all manner of base instincts in the colonies or colonial-like countries, but has also unleashed them in Europe itself, where they are systematically further stoked by cunning politicians.

Today’s propaganda for the “United States of Europe,” which originates in stock market circles and the Jewish press, amounts to nothing more than a logical continuation of this very same predatory economy,

sanctioned by a politically strengthened alliance; it goes without saying, therefore, that we are in the sharpest opposition to this new deception.

On the other hand, however, it is also a fact that a realization is beginning to dawn everywhere in foreign policy that mutual warfare over European resources also spells the end of every national culture: this awakening sense of European solidarity in foreign policy is today being exploited and distorted by the very same political figures to whom all nations owe their current misery.

The “United States of Europe” must be rejected by us, among other things, for the simple reason that a figure such as the semi-Asian Count Coudenhove-Kalergi is its chief proponent, and that instead of building on organic ties, race, and national identity, he preaches absolute racial hodgepodge, and must therefore be regarded as a new harbinger of Europe’s downfall.

Nevertheless, the recognition of the necessity for a Europe united in foreign policy is beyond question, even though it is bound to entail a whole series of serious problems: it must be emphasized that, if we are faced with an either/or choice—the destruction of the West or the safeguarding of Europe in the world—ways must also be found to achieve this goal.

Foremost among these is a demand that, without its fulfillment, everything else will be in vain: the expulsion of the Jews from all European states; this, in turn, can only be the result of an awakening of racial consciousness, a new conception of the state, and a new understanding of economic life.

## “West” and “East”

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 29th, 1927 - this essay remains relevant even today, as the notion of “West” and “East” still haunts some people’s minds.**

Careful observation of nationalist literature on foreign policy issues can often be disconcerting, for as gratifying as it is that thousands are attempting, in word and writing, to come to terms with enduring problems and current circumstances, the amateurishness on paper—which indulges in aphorisms and wordplay without demonstrating any deeper understanding of the issues at hand—can sometimes be disarming.

It should be noted from the outset that foreign policy issues are, by their very nature, more difficult to address publicly than many others, because not everything can or should be said; consequently, readers are not infrequently led to form impressions different from those intended by the writer.

Take, for example, the question of “oppressed peoples”: while we ourselves have on several occasions made no secret of our involuntary sympathy for the resistance of, say, the Moroccans, we have also occasionally stated that, under certain circumstances, it might be practical to harness these forces of various peoples for Germany’s benefit.

But let it be clearly understood: this is for Germany’s benefit, not to satisfy some humanitarian impulse; this would have also required forging, through the unification of these forces, a means of pressure against high finance and its foreign-policy henchmen, not a definitive program that would have to be stubbornly pursued as a general principle.

Today we can calmly state this because Germany has already let this opportunity slip away; Bolshevism, however, has seized it, and the Brussels Anti-Colonial Congress was the first organized blow against Europe on a global political scale.

We understand very well that the resources mobilized for Bolshevism—which is, by its very nature, anti-national—represent only a temporary measure; however, those representatives who heeded the call of Willi Münzenberg and his comrades do not, and even if they were to realize this, they would still attempt to use the power of communism as a means against England and America.

Be that as it may, however, at the very moment when the various peoples of the globe, under Jewish-Communist leadership, declared war on the white race in a European capital, our stance toward this new weapon of the Third International could only be one of rejection, and all the more so since the proponents—Einstein and Lessing-Lazarus—had the audacity to explicitly portray this white race as the world’s sole enemy.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I read the following in a politically influential weekly:

*“At the Brussels Congress of Oppressed Peoples, the East has for the first time unanimously raised its voice against the West; it has declared itself against imperialism and the resulting policy of colonial oppression, and in favor of national independence...”*

*“In the East, the oppressed peoples are waging the same struggle—the struggle of cultural nations against civilized nations, the struggle of depth against superficiality: let us join forces with them, and let us spare no sacrifice.*

*The East is waiting for us, so let us not disappoint it; we are the East's outpost against the West.  
The West is faltering, and the storm from the East has begun: Germany's hour has come."*

This is nothing but provocative superficiality—the uncritical adoption of typical democratic catchphrases: the East, imperialism, colonial oppression, and so on.

And how does the author—Mr. Friedrich Hielscher<sup>94</sup>—justify this call to Germany to “spare no sacrifice”? He explains that a Frenchman once said that as soon as a German returns to the deepest recesses of his soul, he becomes Asian, and adds of his own accord:

*“The Frenchman said this as a reproach, but for us, it is the highest praise: not that we regard Asia as an internal unity, but we know that to the east of us lie all (!) the great civilized nations.”*

This already more than unforgivable childishness is then followed by the following “reasonings”:

*“The West is civilization; the East is culture. Civilization is built on money and calculation and knows no inner life; culture, founded on an unshakable certainty, creates the works of high art, humble thought, and devoted wisdom.*

*The peoples of the West are peoples of civilization; the peoples of the East are the bearers of their great cultures: Germany belongs to the East, not to the West.”*

Such literary drivel is used to conduct “foreign policy”! Surely Mr. Hielscher has not walked past Gothic cathedrals; has he never heard a Beethoven symphony; has he not read *Faust*?

If we are fighting with all our might today against the spirit that has solidified in the Versailles Dictate, it is not in the name of some “Asian culture,” not in the name of the “East,” but in the name of eternally Germanic values of character!

The “West” and the “East” are empty geographical concepts: what matters is the nature of the blood that flows from West to East or vice versa, and thus, safeguarding good blood in Germany is the goal and yardstick of our overall policy.

An alliance with those of the same blood, along with the regulation of national competences aimed at securing the Nordic states, is a further goal in the struggle for our very existence: everything else is mere literary musing.

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This idealization of the “East” can certainly be traced back to Oswald Spengler, whose hypocritical eloquence has completely muddled the minds of many a German who had already been left bewildered: Spengler’s sermon on the “magical” in the East, his glorification of Dostoevsky, and his genuflection before the “possibilities” in the East led many—who had not the faintest inkling of what real Russia was like—to an irresistible urge to seek “the light” there.

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<sup>94</sup> A German intellectual, pagan theologian, and member of the German Conservative movement; he was also an anti-National Socialist. - The Translator

From the views of such writers arises, as usual, a foreign-policy either/or dilemma: “Geneva or Moscow”, where “Geneva” is understood to mean the rule of “Anglo-American imperialism,” and the Englishman himself appears as “the evil principle of the Nordic essence,” “the prodigal son”.

To begin with, it is wrong to pose the Geneva–Moscow alternative, for the “West” is by no means so unified that “Geneva” can be regarded as something permanent: Rome is already breaking away from Geneva, for example.

And then we have no idea how the Russian East will develop: while it is possible that a unified empire will emerge, it is also equally possible that the former Greater Russia will eventually disintegrate into its constituent parts - thus, in either case, we are faced with a purely practical-political question: will this “Russia” stand by the German people in defense of their rights?

Each person may answer this question for themselves.

## Against the System's Foreign Policy

Speech by Alfred Rosenberg in the German Reichstag on Friday, December 5th, 1930 - the agenda for that day was actually supposed to focus on the national budget, but Alfred Rosenberg, however, spoke about the system's foreign policy failings and hurled the following at Brüning:

*“The budget of a nation consists not only of accounting tricks, but also of the character-building of a nation.”*

This speech retains its historical significance even today, for if Poland were now to come to its senses and strive to reach an understanding with Germany, the new Reich would only welcome this as a step toward genuine peace.

First of all, we would like to express our deep regret that neither the President of the German Reichstag, nor the Reich Chancellor, nor the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs deemed it necessary, at the outset of this session of the Reichstag, to give voice to the outrage of the entire German people over the events in Poland: we believe that this constitutes a serious dereliction of duty.

The National Socialist movement, by contrast, makes amends for this dereliction, and, on behalf of the Germany that is still German, expresses regret over the incidents, along with a promise to do everything in its power to strengthen the political position of the German people in Poland to the extent to which they are entitled.

We wish to interject a few remarks of a general political nature between the financial deliberations, because we are of the opinion that the Reichstag, in its haste, is prepared to adjourn once again for a long period, and we believe that a few remarks on the situation in Poland are of extraordinary importance at this moment:

“Today has brought about the liberation of the people”—these were the opening words of the proclamation issued by the so-called People's Representatives on November 9th, 1918; I ask that you compare this grandiose proclamation with the years that followed, and with what is happening today in Poland and throughout the world, as since then, there is no freedom, nor has equality been achieved; rather, the German people have been transformed into tribute slaves of the entire world, and they have been disarmed to the very last man; now, today, they cannot successfully assert their rights anywhere.

The events in Poland are not merely a temporary or prolonged oppression of the German minority, but instead constitute a sustained campaign aimed at the eradication of German identity in Poland—and not only in Poland; it is a campaign with the political goal of furthering the disregard for Germany throughout the world.

At this moment, it is necessary to recall certain historical facts: we recall the memorandum that the Polish delegation presented to British Minister Balfour in 1917, in which it declared that Königsberg, together with the city and the surrounding lands, belonged to a territory geographically connected to Posen; it stated that Danzig, “under normal conditions” and through “natural development,” would inevitably become a Polish city.

Dmowski, one of the co-signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, stated in a memorandum to Wilson in October 1918:

*“The aspirations of the German outpost (Königsberg) are now the main obstacle to the establishment of an independent Polish state.”*

During their farewell audience with Wilson, the Polish delegation also stated that not only Poznań, but also Silesia and the Baltic coast, must absolutely be incorporated into Poland if all hopes were not to be dashed; furthermore, in a collective memorandum from the Polish delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference, it was stated that the Germanization of Danzig was only superficial, as Danzig would soon be a predominantly Polish city, and that the territorial isolation of East Prussia was necessary for lasting peace, since it must lead to a voluntary and progressive de-Germanization of East Prussia.

These are merely brief glimpses into the efforts we wish to highlight here, because the German Reich government has, unfortunately, failed to have these matters disseminated immediately throughout the world through its diplomatic missions.

Alongside these official steps, various Polish organizations are carrying out their work, such as the Association of Upper Silesian Insurgents or the Association of Legionnaires, who invited Mr. Zeligowsky as a guest of honor to a secret meeting in August two years ago: on that occasion, he declared that what he had begun in Vilnius would later be continued with the goal of restoring Poland's borders as they were in 1772.

These associations merged in 1929 to form a larger organization, and have articulated their goal openly: Poland from the Oder to the Dnieper; working alongside them are propaganda institutes such as the Baltic Institute in Toruń and the West Slavic Institute in Poznań.

Finally, extensive cultural work is being carried out in conjunction with these Polish organizations: on behalf of the Polish Foreign Ministry, a Pole published a booklet about Danzig and had it distributed throughout the world with the aim of presenting Danzig as a Polish city, though in reality, it has been established historically that all the buildings cited were constructed by German master craftsmen; you are also aware that the Polish delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference used forged maps that listed the names Bromberg, Breslau, and Liegnitz, among others, in Polish.

Thus, for decades now—one can already say—Poland has been carrying out a purposeful national political campaign, implemented by every means at its disposal - I must also remind you that in early November of this year, the entire Polish press triumphantly declared that the new railway line between Bromberg and Gdynia would be opened on November 9th; this was also a deliberate political move, for on that day the Social Democrats were once again celebrating the anniversary of their victory over Germany.

At the same time, Poland is building three new railroad lines in southern Poland, and six new railroads in the Posen region: it is telling that the new railroad between Bromberg and Gdynia is partly owned by the French arms manufacturer Schneider-Creuzot, and that ultimately, we ourselves are paying for all these projects with our tax dollars.

In this context, we also express our sympathy for the Ukrainian minority, which is being oppressed in both Russia and Poland.

What we have witnessed in Poland in recent days was a flagrant breach of the minority agreements, and the German Reich Government has a duty to draw the political consequences from this - that is, it must demand that the League of Nations rectify the erroneous ruling of October 21st, 1921.

You know that on March 20th, 1921, the referendums took place in Upper Silesia, and that these referendums resulted in an overwhelming victory for the German cause, with over 700,000 votes cast in

favor of Germany, and approximately 470,000 in favor of Poland; nevertheless, the League of Nations decided at that time to partition Upper Silesia, and we believe that it is now high time to make it clear to the world that Germany has not come to terms with this loss.

In this context, I would like to draw your attention to several letters from the year 1919 - General Bliss wrote to Wilson on March 25th, 1919:

*“The proposal by the Polish Commission—that we place 2,100,000 Germans under the rule of a people who profess a different religion and have never, throughout their entire history, demonstrated the capacity for strong self-government—must, in my judgment, sooner or later lead to a new war in Eastern Europe.”<sup>95</sup>*

General Smuts also wrote to Lloyd George on May 12th, 1919:

*“I believe we are in the process of building a house out of quicksand: I would revise Poland’s borders as provisionally established in the peace treaty, leave Upper Silesia and all genuinely German territories to Germany, draw the borders of the Free City of Danzig more narrowly, and, instead of placing it under Polish suzerainty, leave it under German sovereignty with an administration subordinate to the League of Nations.*

*I considered the prolonged occupation of the Rhine and the far greater expansion of Poland to be the two cardinal errors of the Peace Treaty: these two errors pose a serious threat to future peace in Europe, and I urge that every means be employed to eliminate them before it is too late.”*

We recommend that such voices be utilized again today in Germany’s favor.

At the same time, we must acknowledge the collapse of the Locarno policy: at the time this agreement was concluded, it was said that we had to achieve peace in the West in order to be free toward the East, yet even today, peace in the West has not been achieved, for France continues its massive rearmament: a fortified wall stretches from the North Sea along the Alpine border down to the Mediterranean Sea, and France not only possesses the strongest air force—which poses a threat even to England—but has also refused to accept parity with Italy at sea.

Through this armament, France is forcing all other states to be concerned for their security: instead of paying its debts to America, it is expanding its military capabilities.

We state here that compliance with the treaties must first and foremost be demanded of France as well, and that the entire Section 5 of the Treaty of Versailles has not been fulfilled - we note that if France does not fulfill these points, it has breached its own treaty.

This ultimately brings us to the problem of the Versailles Dictate itself, and although this idea has been voiced but never pursued, we wish to state here that this Versailles Dictate stems from the breach of an

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<sup>95</sup> As far as I can see, this statement actually originated from Lloyd George in the *Fontainebleau Memorandum*, which was published on March 25th, 1919 (according to the book *Peaceless Europe* by Francesco Saverio Nitti, 1922, which can be found on Project Gutenberg: <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/10090/pg10090-images.html>); I could not find this purported letter by General Bliss to President Wilson, but it's possible that Bliss was just quoting this Memorandum. - The Translator

agreement concluded with Wilson under international law, and that the few corrections made in the Lansing Note do not alter Wilson's 14 Points.

The British representatives also shared this view, and General Smuts, whom we have already mentioned, wrote to Wilson on May 30th, 1919:

*"If we implement the Treaty of Versailles as it is planned here, we will be violating the Wilson Peace that you guaranteed."*

Above all, we would like to recall the closing words of Wilson's 14-Points speech, which are perhaps virtually unknown today - on January 8th, 1918, Wilson said:

*"The people of the United States can act on no other principle than that of justice, and in defense of this principle they are prepared to sacrifice their lives, their honor, and all that they possess."*

While we may be able to understand that the American representatives, taken by surprise by the secret European treaties, were unable at that time to go against the prevailing sentiment, we wish today all the more to underscore the German nation's legal claim, and to remind the wealthiest nation in the world of how it invoked its honor at that time.

We ourselves have never harbored any illusions, for it goes without saying that a lost war must have the most severe consequences for the people who lost it: we think differently from the *Vorwärts*, which declared on October 20th, 1918, that no war defeat could render us defenseless.

Today we face the fact that Germany loses 20,000 people to suicide every year; that over the course of ten years it has lost nearly a million of its best and brightest as emigrants, and that in today's Germany, 400,000 Germans are not being born each year: if this trend continues, in a few decades there may still be 40 or 50 million people living in Germany who, by mere chance, still speak German, but who no longer possess a German will or German self-confidence; instead, they will constitute a herd of helots to be exploited for any purpose.

The National Socialist people's movement opposes this and declares that it will employ all the means of power at its disposal today to combat this impoverishment, and that it will continue to rally the entire nation so that this process of self-emasculation is no longer allowed to take hold: we believe that this point and this idea are perhaps the most important factors in the rehabilitation of a state, for a nation's budget consists not only of accounting tricks, but also in the formation of a nation's character and the strengthening of all its moral values in the defense against external oppression and, above all, in the defense against those forces that serve foreign propaganda within domestic politics.

A new foreign policy can only begin with a rebirth of character, and a rebirth of character is possible only if the parasites of character are weeded out: that is why it is impossible to conduct any foreign policy at all in conjunction with social democracy.

We can understand that a foreign policy following a lost war may, under certain circumstances, require sacrifices, but if one makes sacrifices outwardly while continuing to destroy the people from within through social democracy, then all sacrifices are in vain.

Germany's development is moving in two extreme directions, and the world will one day have to choose whether, after the erosion of the entire center, it wants to reckon with communism or National Socialism:

to reckon with communism means to declare the downfall of that which bore the name Germany for over 1,000 years, but to count on National Socialism means appealing to that force which has always grown great whenever Germany rose from its humiliation.

## Brünings' Policy of Catastrophe

**Rosenberg's major foreign policy reckoning with the old system in the German Reichstag, February 24th, 1932; the same preliminary remark applies to this speech as to the preceding remarks.**

Dr. Bolz, the Minister of the Center, did not deny the hardship and misery of our times; however, in impassioned laments, he pleaded that people should stop searching for the causes of this misery today - now, while we believe we can understand why a representative of the current system is reluctant to investigate the causes of today's misery, we are convinced that only when the causes of a collapse are clearly understood will it be possible to establish the only guidelines for the future.

It was in early December 1930 when we last had the pleasure of speaking with Dr. Curtius<sup>96</sup> about foreign policy: at that time, the persecution of Germans in Upper Silesia was the subject of debate, but in the autumn of 1930, this persecution reached its peak, and at that time we called on the German Reich Government to convene the Council of the League of Nations immediately.

Dr. Curtius stated that he would continue his successful, principled, and straightforward policy, but refused to convene the Council of the League of Nations, pointing instead to the January session, which would take place in any case: in our view, this amounted to the German Reich Government downplaying the systematic persecution of Germans.

I would like to use this single example to document in detail—as can also be demonstrated in all other areas—how German foreign policy behaved in the Polish question.

On January 21st, 1931, when the session finally took place as scheduled, Dr. Curtius demanded that the Council of the League of Nations investigate the events in Upper Silesia; then, two days later, he wanted nothing more to do with this demand, and instead, German foreign policy put forward four other demands, declaring that it would adhere to them unconditionally:

First, that there had been a violation of Articles 75 and 83 of the Geneva Convention on Minorities, as at that time, the Polish foreign minister had agreed with the French foreign minister that it would be more expedient to accept a minor reprimand than to let 250 lawsuits play out before the eyes of the world.

As a second point, the government demanded a censure of Poland: this censure was never issued!

Third, the German Reich Government demanded a report from Poland on the punishment of all guilty officials: this effectively abandoned League of Nations oversight and appointed Poland as judge in its own case.

Fourth, the German Reich Government demanded a guarantee that the system in Upper Silesia would be changed: this, too, was by no means complied with, and on the contrary, the responsible Voivode<sup>97</sup>, Graczynski, was appointed leader of the Polish Scout Associations just a few days later.

The crucial point, however, was that the election results in Poland—which had been brought about through terror—remained completely untouched, and the German Reich Government acknowledged this as well; the Polish foreign minister then added a note of derision to this outcome by declaring, in anticipation, on December 27th, 1930, that what was taking place in Poland today was a perfectly normal “process of de-Germanization.”

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<sup>96</sup> Julius Curtius, Foreign Minister of the Weimar Republic from October/November 1929 to October 1931. - The Translator

<sup>97</sup> The historical title for a military commander in Central and Eastern Europe. - The Translator

This “normal process of de-Germanization” has cost the German community in Poland one million compatriots to this day—a “success” of German foreign policy to date.

Poland has—and this is the most important point, which the German Reich Government has failed to emphasize—breached its treaties of June 24th and June 28th, 1919: at the time, recognition of the minority treaties was the prerequisite for the recognition of the Polish state itself, and Poland was also required at that time to commit to recognizing these minority agreements, regardless of which regime was in power; these agreements have demonstrably been flagrantly violated, and it would have been worth considering here whether Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations should not have been applied.

You may also recall that Poland was supposedly going to punish its criminals, as Poland was required to submit a detailed report on this matter to the May session - however, Poland mocked Germany and the League of Nations by publishing this so-called report one day before the session opened, and the chairman of this session, the German Reich Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, failed to remind Poland of its obligations in a timely manner; as a result, Dr. Curtius, as chairman of the session, once again proposed postponing consideration of this issue.

On May 21st, 1931, during this session, the German Reich Chancellor’s official publication, *Germania*, wrote:

*“The Upper Silesian question will—this can be said with certainty—be revisited in its entirety, if not now due to lack of time, then after a careful examination of all the details in September.”*

In September, the League of Nations session took place, and the Japanese expert expressed the hope that a state of peace between Germans and Poles might now prevail; the Reich Chancellor and the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Curtius, took note of this statement and thereupon shelved the entire Upper Silesian question, even managing to stand up and express his thanks to Poland for the fact that a German school that had been arbitrarily closed might eventually be reopened.

At the same time that this was taking place in Geneva, Voivode Graczynski held a general assembly of the Polish insurgent groups in Katowice and declared, in the presence of high-ranking Polish officials, that the Polish insurgents would steadfastly uphold their “old ideology”; he even had the audacity to add that it was a tragedy how Poles were being treated in German Upper Silesia.

And yet, it is a fact that there is one Polish school for every twelve Polish children in Upper Silesia, whereas 50 percent of Germans in Poland have no German school; it is also a fact that among the Polish teachers in Germany, there are many Polish citizens, including a large number of Polish reserve officers. From this single example, one can trace the entire course that German foreign policy has taken thus far: first a small attempt at resistance, and then a pitiful surrender under various pressures.

Since this collapse, Germany’s standing in the eyes of the entire world has also declined with regard to the Upper Silesia issue, and when one asks today how the terrible events in Danzig and Memel were possible, one can say: the attitude of German foreign policy bears primary responsibility for this.

Reference has already been made today to the incidents in Danzig: imagine that in a German Free State, where 97 percent of the population is German, a Polish priest would celebrate Mass and declare that Polish troops would soon be stationed on this soil; also imagine how a representative of the military

command in Toruń, Colonel Landau, could state that cooperation between the Polish military and the Poles in Danzig was exceptionally close, and the president of the Polish Railways in Danzig, Dobrzynski, added that the Polish railways were exemplary in their preparedness for mobilization - here, too, it is evident that the reputation of our nation of 65 million has been extraordinarily damaged thanks to the “straightforward and successful foreign policy” pursued thus far: all these details that we must observe in the East—the disregard for the German Reich in Danzig, the trampling of German rights in the Memel Territory—are merely symptoms of a general disregard that Germany faces today throughout the world as a result of thirteen years of misguided foreign policy.

Finally, as far as the customs union is concerned, it was, after all, the showpiece of German foreign policy in 1931, for when this plan was announced, the establishment parties declared that proof had now been provided that the German government was beginning to actively intervene in German foreign policy, and was not merely adopting a passive stance.

It was curious that here too, as in almost all other cases, the Reich Chancellor informed France earlier than the other states: this was not only the case with the customs union but, as already noted today, also with regard to the issue of tribute arrangements - here, of course, Germany encountered the sharpest opposition from France itself from the very first day, as from the very beginning, France has not hesitated to invoke so-called international legal documents and to advocate for them with the force of a massive propaganda campaign.

France cites the Geneva Convention of 1922 in its objections, and it does indeed contain a clause whose meaning we understand when an opponent attempts to turn it into a weapon against Germany and Austria: this convention states that Austria must refrain from anything that directly or indirectly endangers its so-called independence.

You can imagine what these words mean, as they actually mean the possibility for hostile powers to prevent Austria from any freedom of movement; it is, however, quite telling that this Geneva Convention was concluded by the leader of the Austrian Center Party, the Christian Social prelate Dr. Seipel—that, in exchange for a League of Nations loan, this group literally surrendered Austria’s freedom at that time. In response to these disruptive efforts, the German Reich Chancellor declared on March 24th, 1931, at the German Industry and Trade Conference, that the German Reich Government was determined to see its course through to the end with calm resolve; then, on April 20th, the Foreign Office informed the *Bayerische Staatszeitung* that the German Reich government would under no circumstances allow itself to be dissuaded from the customs union, which was once again that typical rhetoric we had become familiar with at the outset of all negotiations, but which always ends in collapse; that collapse then occurred shortly thereafter in Geneva.

One day after Germany and Austria had committed themselves to no longer pursuing the customs union plans, a banquet took place at which the German Reich Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, raised his glass with the words:

*“We all follow our leader Briand!”*

That was unacceptable even to the current Reich government: never before has a German Foreign Minister played such a pitiful role as Dr. Curtius did back then in Geneva, but at that time, only Dr. Curtius was recalled; Dr. Brüning preferred to stay.

Now Germany faces a decisive conference: the Disarmament Conference.

I need not describe the legal situation, as it is well known to this House; in fact, even the British Foreign Secretary and the Belgian Minister have acknowledged the German position as justified, for in his reply to Adolf Hitler, Dr. Brüning stated that if he were to go to Geneva now, it would be the nation's duty to stand united "behind its negotiators".

In this regard, we must state the following: having seen how Dr. Brüning and his predecessors have conducted German foreign policy—and how they have, in fact, been outmaneuvered on every issue—we must say that Dr. Brüning is not currently authorized to speak for this national Germany, but that he in fact represents only the factions of Prelate Kaas and Mr. Dittmann.<sup>98</sup>

I believe that an article in the *Vorwärts*, which is exceptionally concerned not with German security but with French security, best illustrates what support for a current minister of the system must look like to the outside world - on January 7th, 1931, the *Vorwärts* wrote that a form of security of the kind demanded, for example, by Minister Groener, was not feasible, and added:

*"With this fact in mind, Germany has no interest in continually placing itself at odds with its former adversaries through its demands for disarmament, or in continually sowing hostility and mistrust; on the contrary, out of the necessity to maintain the closest possible understanding with France's superior economic power, Germany has a tactical duty to tolerate France's armaments to the extent that the French people's confidence in the German people's commitment to peace is as complete as possible."*

That is probably about the extent of what one can imagine as "support" for a German delegation on disarmament issues in Geneva.

But it goes without saying that the Social Democrats always act in concert with Berlin's major press, as the Ullstein publishing house's press has also informed us of its views on this matter: the *Vossische Zeitung* of September 27th, 1931, states that if the French are still concerned about their security, one must take the wind out of their sails; specifically, one must turn one's attention to sparsely populated regions, and that Franco-German cooperation would consist of diverting the surplus population to France's African colonies, to South America, and to China, where there is room for everyone.

While once Clemenceau declared that Germany had 20 million people too many, this statement now finds support among the Social Democrats and the democratic forces, with the aim of making the nation's vast surplus of labor serve as slaves to France.

What is characteristic of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, however, is this: that it has, in fact, changed its name unnoticed and without protest from the German Reich Chancellor.

For years, people have spoken and written about the duty of disarmament—but only that of others—and as early as 1925, a disarmament committee was convened, which worked in vain for six years; this conference was also called the Disarmament Conference.

Then, on July 15th, 1931, the French memorandum appeared, which no longer used the term "Disarmament Conference", but spoke only of arms limitation - thus, as a result of this French pressure on the League of Nations, one now finds only the term "Conference on the Limitation of Armaments" in the

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<sup>98</sup> Ludwig Kaas and Wilhelm Dittmann, Kaas being a member of the Center Party, and Dittmann being a Social Democrat. - The Translator

League's documents and publications relating to disarmament; this name change is symptomatic, because it reversed the entire purpose of the conference even before the German Reich Chancellor had even taken the floor, and the German Chancellor furthermore avoided even acknowledging this telling name change of the disarmament conference.

André Tardieu<sup>99</sup> felt exceptionally vulnerable in Geneva from the standpoint of international law, for he knew only too well that, among Germany's 99 obligations, there was also a single obligation on France's part: he knew very well that Germany had the opportunity, before a forum where the whole world was listening, to confront the French head-on with the German position.

That is why Mr. Tardieu first tried a diversionary tactic with his plan to create a League of Nations army, but then he moved on to provoking Germany: he pounded his fist on the table and declared over and over again that France "demanded," that "generous France" must expect... and other such phrases.

And finally—in 1932! —he hurled the lie about Germany's guilt for the war right in the face of the German Reich Chancellor - thus, when France speaks today of three German invasions, we must also note the following: that if a French conqueror were to plunge all of Europe into war and the nations were finally to unite to oppose this usurper, peace-loving France would today call such a thing a foreign invasion.

We would simply like to emphasize here that, after all, the English were also present at Waterloo; we would further like to point out how easily France fabricates lies about war guilt by still referring today to such glaring cases as those of 1813 and 1870.

The German Reich Chancellor did not respond at all to these challenges, however, and Dr. Brüning did not defend German rights in Geneva; rather, two-thirds of his speech consisted of a pacifist Lenten sermon, as he repeatedly appealed to a spirit of helpful solidarity and to the so-called Christian conscience: that may all be well and good here at home, but the world expected something different from a German Chancellor, for it expected the argument for German security to be put forward as a counterargument to the argument for French security.

No nation in the entire world is as threatened today as the German people, and to approach the world solely with demands for disarmament—without at the same time actively demanding German security in the event of rejection—is a utopian endeavor; nevertheless, we emphasize that the demand for disarmament on the part of others is one hundred percent justified under international law, but it follows from this that one should have asked right from the start whether France and its allies recognize this obligation or not, for if they do not, then France has torn up the Treaty of Versailles, and in response, of course, all obligations still incumbent upon Germany under the Treaty of Versailles would likewise be null and void.

Germany was entitled to expect this from the German Chancellor, yet none of this has been said; incidentally, France received a sharper response only from the Italian Foreign Minister, who noted with justified irony that armaments throughout the world have risen enormously, and that this has been the case since the Locarno Conference, but above all since the conclusion of the Kellogg Pact, which is supposedly intended to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy.

All of this clearly reveals the inherent insincerity of the Social Democratic foreign policy of the system, and now, in the face of a rapidly growing sentiment in Germany, the Center Party and the Social Democrats are in dire straits - thus, if today the representatives of the establishment parties are acting so

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<sup>99</sup> At the time being Prime Minister of France. - The Translator

extremely sensitive, and if it is claimed that—contrary to the views held in 1925—the President of the Reich supported the policy of the current system with his signature by accepting the Young Plan, by signing the Poland Agreement, etc., then we must reply that never—not even once in these twelve years—has any person been so besmirched as Hindenburg has been by the Center Party and the Social Democrats.

The leading Center Party newspaper in Baden, the *Badische Beobachter*, wrote on April 22nd, 1925:

*“Hindenburg has needlessly sacrificed thousands of people, so when war suppliers and other war profiteers elect Hindenburg as president, they are fulfilling a duty of gratitude, for he has made them rich.”*

And the particularly devout *Fuldaer Zeitung* went so far as to declare that only unbelievers and atheists could possibly be on the side of the so-called Hindenburg bloc at that time.

The Social Democratic *Münchener Post* wrote:

*“Defeat the greatest war loser in world history! ...With Hindenburg alone, the profiteers of inflation will triumph.”*

And on April 27th, 1925, the *Germania*—I have the original here, should there be any doubt—wrote that it had been a pyrrhic victory for the Right - it wrote:

*“More than 30 million people went to the polls, but not even half of them voted for the ‘savior’; the fact that he finished first is not due to the merit of his political ideas, but primarily to the tearful sentimentality of politicized women.”*

That was the official statement from the central organ of the Center Party seven years ago.

In spite of all this, we must examine everything that is happening in German foreign policy today—regardless of the personal convictions of the Reich Chancellor or the Reich Foreign Minister—in even greater depth, for when it is claimed that the parties in this House differ only in their means and methods, not in their objectives, we must say that we differ from these parties far more in our objectives than in our choice of means and methods.

The National Socialist movement wants a great and strong Germany, but neither the Social Democrats nor the Center Party want that, and when it is said that the establishment parties pursued a policy of illusions, this is true insofar as we examine the words with which these parties addressed the German nation, scrutinize their promises, and compare them with the situation today.

If we ask ourselves whether there is not, after all, a “realpolitik” behind these alleged illusions, we must also answer in the affirmative, for this realpolitik consists of a worldview in foreign policy that is entirely different from our own: Democracy and Marxism, namely, have not held a strong German nation-state as their ideal, but rather a Pan-Europe led by France and dependent on Jewish high finance; that is the political ideal that the Social Democrats consistently pursue and which repeatedly bursts forth from all their statements, even though they must fear saying so aloud today.

As for the Center, various currents are at play there as well, for what was initially expressed modestly is now being stated more and more clearly: the Western mission of the German people, which is specifically

that it must integrate itself into a larger whole, and that this larger whole looks exactly like the Social Democrats' vision - namely a strong France in the West, a strong Poland in the East, and a weak Germany in the middle.

Everything the Center and the Social Democrats do in foreign policy stems from these very real ideological considerations, and all individual manifestations are merely symptoms of this foreign-policy mindset.

This way of thinking goes even further: in 1918, it was said that one must pursue this policy of illusions among the German people until the German people have been so emasculated in character and rendered so incapable of resistance that they can no longer even conceive of genuine resistance against this "Pan-Europe"; the National Socialist movement, however, has thrown a wrench into these plans, and it is for this reason alone that the National Socialist movement is so hated by the Center Party and the Social Democrats.

When the Center Party today whines that it is unthinkable that, in these difficult times, our agitation should split the people into two camps, we must reply that the Center Party bears primary responsibility for allowing the Social Democrats to become so powerful in the first place.

For years, the Center Party has thrived on this conflict between the two factions, and without the Center Party, not a single Social Democratic minister would be sitting in office today, and 100,000 Marxist bigwigs would not be occupying prominent positions to the detriment of the German people either.

The Center Party has made the Social Democrats powerful so that they can always be used as a tool of blackmail against national Germany: when we say this, we must note that the National Socialist German Workers' Party has given the Center Party several opportunities to change course, but the Center Party has consistently rejected these opportunities in the most brusque manner.

The Center Party and the Social Democrats stand as a single front: it is within this front that they must perish.

## The Crisis and the Rebirth of Europe

From November 14th–20th, 1932, the “Volta Congress” of the Royal Italian Academy took place in Rome, focusing on the theme of “Europe”: it was at this conference, attended by scholars and politicians from nearly all European nations, that Alfred Rosenberg became the first National Socialist to speak before an international forum.

It was here that the idea behind the later proposal for a Four-Power Pact was articulated, and its historical and political necessity was justified; the Fascist press also noted that the proposal for the Four-Power Pact had followed Rosenberg’s idea.

Regarding the speech Alfred Rosenberg delivered at the Volta Congress on the same topic, the Italian Ambassador Orestano remarked:

*“I consider Mr. Rosenberg’s lecture to be one of the most important of our conference, as his powerful syntheses made an overwhelming impression on me: Mr. Rosenberg magnificently described the four major nationalisms.”*

In our era, following the greatest war in world history, intellectual values and social institutions of the past 150 years are crumbling as a result of this profound spiritual and political catastrophe; moreover, ideological ties dating back even further in time—and the conceptual frameworks rooted in them—are being subjected to a new form of critique.

In the midst of such a time of general upheaval, however, the spiritual and psychological crisis can no longer be examined “scientifically,” because every science always establishes certain prerequisites for its research, which it uses as a valid yardstick from which to begin its investigations - thus, a reflection on Europe as an idea and an experience is therefore possible today only in the form of a personal commitment, for as always, a reshaping of life will now, too, take its starting point from such personal commitments, and the deeper these are grounded in the yearning of the times, the stronger the forces of will rallied around these commitments already appear to be within the nations of Europe.

A genuine rebirth always requires a new assessment of the past and its great, foundational figures, for from this altered perspective of our spiritual forebears, one then symbolically discerns the destiny to which one aspires for the future.

Germany, for example—which is undergoing not only political turmoil, but also a profound internal transformation—today holds up not Charlemagne, but his adversary, Duke Widukind, as the guardian of its true character; in the same way, despite all the greatness of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, this Germany does not side with Barbarossa, but with Henry the Lion; it has also broken away from the House of Habsburg and, in return, sees in Frederick’s Prussia the savior of its spiritual substance.

When considering the social conflicts of the past, the awakening Germany inwardly sides with the peasants in its assessment of the great struggles of the 16th century, seeing in Sickingen and Hütten the bearers of the nationalist ideal, not in their opponents; young Germany no longer revels in the unrealistic rhetoric of the Revolution of 1789, but rather, it judges the spiritual and emotional desolation, the materialization, and the atomization of the 19th century as the consequence of a purely abstract attempt to recognize the numerical majority as the yardstick for measuring the genius of the individual creative spirit in public life and culture; finally, it does not glorify the much-vaunted progress of technology, but rather sees in Nietzsche, for example, a kindred critic of industrial culture as the “most base form of existence that has ever existed.”

In a similar way, a revaluation of the past is also taking place among other nations, even if this can be only directly observed in Italy—a country that, today, after a decade of Fascist rule, still stands in the midst of a revolution that encompasses all of life.

Throughout the entire liberal era, while acknowledging the individual great figures, the rejuvenated Italy reaches for those ideas and that will of primal power from which the monuments of ancient Rome were once born: it identifies not with the Gracchi, but with the figures of Sulla; not with the boundless ideas of the late period, but with the down-to-earth character of ancient Rome.

Ancient symbols have emerged over the millennia as parables of these commitments, and it is more than a coincidence that while in Italy, people dream of the Third Rome, in Germany, people dream of the Third Reich: they fight for this dream with the greatest willingness to make sacrifices.

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This kind of rebirth of the soul, however, has a decisive implication for the question of Europe: namely, that a conceptual construct in the sense of a universalist idea—one that descends, as it were, from above—is no longer a viable option.

Such a concept has never truly taken hold in the painful history of the Western world: the worldview of the so-called Middle Ages, once imposed on the peoples of Europe from outside, established “European” unity only for a brief period, but this was not an organic unity, and it was through this inorganic unity that, after many struggles, half of Europe broke away.

The age of liberalism, which today in Geneva is finally sounding its own death knell, sought to resolve the “unity of Europe” only superficially, from a political-sociological perspective: people worshipped the goddess of reason and believed they could master the problems of public life through a scheme supposedly suitable for all nations: parliamentary democracy, for example, was the crudest attempt to ensure the triumph of this “rational” scheme within states, though, as a matter of course, it promoted in all areas not the creatively strong, but the parasitic and reckless.

The pan-European philosophers of our time confused the One with the idea of unity when establishing their doctrine, for it is not monism—as the typical philosophy of an intellect that has become estranged from life—that can bear fruit, but rather the unreserved recognition of the diversity essential to life is the prerequisite for any conceivable unity; organic unity requires multiplicity as its foundation.

It follows that, when we speak of Europe at all, it cannot be an abstract concept in which every nation somehow “has a share,” as if it were an absolute; rather, diversity must be recognized as a prerequisite so that we may then jointly contrast the various trees of life that have sprung from our soil with those that thrive on the soil of Asia and Africa, for only then will a kinship possibly emerge that is just as dubious to establish through purely eclectic methods as it is through universalist assertions and dogmatic demands.

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Contrary to all other attempts, the nation is the immutable, given starting point of all events—the nation as the diverse result of blood, landscape, and a shared political and spiritual destiny - thus, also contrary to all doctrines, nationalism and its effects will therefore be decisive for what will later come to be called Europe, as each of the four great nations, which appear here as determinants of destiny, now has its own “center of bliss,” from which it strives to constantly reinvent itself.

For Italy, the leader of Fascism has characterized the state as the highest value—as a means of education, as the cultivator of individuality and its shield, as the guardian of the strong, and as the protector of a threatened spiritual community - here, the chord of ancient Roman glory resounds deliberately, revealing the conceptual construct of a power that had to be harsh in order to preserve its very essence in the face of encroaching Orientalism.

French nationalism is inseparably linked to—one might well say—the worship of the soil: anyone who lives on French soil becomes, as it were, French by a mysterious law—an idea that has always united French religiosity with its adversary, Freemasonry.

England, for centuries an almost impregnable island, had no need for the myth of the state, and even today, the conception of the nation as a society prevails there - thus, anyone who follows this society, its customs, and its unwritten laws is incorporated into the British nation, which is why tradition plays the all-encompassing, formative, and overarching role.

In Germany, it is undoubtedly the belief in blood that has given rise to the great upheavals, and the political fragmentation of the German people—often due to their geographical location—infused this doctrine with that great power which even today constitutes the main driving force behind the great German awakening of our time.

It is therefore no coincidence that Fascism has chosen as its symbol the emblem of the harshest form of state power—the lictor's fasces with the axe—while the awakening Germany has chosen the racial emblem of the most ancient Germanic heritage, the swastika (which, contrary to pseudoscience, did not originate in India, but in Central Europe, where it can be traced back to 3000 B.C.).

Nothing can be said here about the “absolute truth” of these nationalisms, nor does their measure of value lie in any absolute; rather, it lies in the degree of spiritual fertility awakened by the fervor of faith in one people or another.

If belief in the state as the highest value gives rise to a strong, proud Italian people, then it is true in the deepest sense of the word; if belief in the value of blood leads to Germany's rebirth, then this is the proof of its metaphysical authenticity.

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Since Russia has now returned to Central Asia, and the other nations—despite their manifold spiritual riches—have not produced a strong, independently radiant national character, but rather tend toward one or the other of those described, the first consequence of an investigation into the psychology of nations is that the overall problem of Europe simplifies itself into the recognition of only four spiritual and psychological life forces.

In the great struggle over the fate of the globe, we must overcome the dogma—which is likewise hostile to culture—that small and very small peoples, whose values are fully recognized, can be mechanically equated with those nations that have shaped culture, statehood, and national character through the struggles of the centuries, and continue to do so today thanks to their numerical dynamism and inner strength: whoever, therefore, earnestly strives for Europe as an organic unity of strong diversity—and not as a crude sum—must recognize the four great nationalisms as given to us by fate, and must therefore strive to give full expression to the power radiating from their very core.

The destruction of one of these centers by any power would not result in a “Europe,” but would bring about chaos in which the other cultural centers, too, would inevitably perish; conversely, only the triumph

of the influences radiating toward those areas where the four great forces do not clash would mean the strongest dynamism of creative existence, organic peace—rather than the explosive state of coercion we see today—while at the same time guaranteeing the smaller nations a greater sense of security than seems possible today in the struggle against elemental forces.

From this psychological overview, the great European problem of state policy and economics thus emerges of its own accord:

France is saturated, since its land is already be populated by foreign immigrants; its dynamism, therefore, if it is not to provoke terrible conflicts, will turn away from the East and follow the second path of its power—that of administering its vast African possessions—where its mission would be to shield Europe from Africa, and not to tolerate, much less facilitate, an African advance into Europe.

Italy, with its steadily growing population, cannot find peace until “the state” is truly able to assume custody of its children in certain parts of the Adriatic and in North Africa.

The German people, now fragmented and scattered, in turn, can never recognize a “Europe” until the “myth of the blood” has led to the unification of the Germans into a single state as a means of protecting that blood.

Finally, Europe will only be able to present itself successfully to the entire world if Great Britain, first and foremost, can vigorously assume the mission of representing it.

British society still holds the great British Empire together today, and thus, in the context of a four-part Europe, it is essential that it not grow weak; to England, then, it must seem worthwhile to channel the still-urgent energies of Germany and Italy for the greater good of the whole.

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Even if one acknowledges these fundamental demands in one’s heart, every non-utopian mind is aware that today they are still more programmatic than practical in nature, for the path from inner recognition to political action and fulfillment is immensely difficult: just as a genuine scientific idea often takes decades or even centuries to gain acceptance, so too does a political idea.

It is true that people and nations can become enthusiastic about conceivable utopias out of the simple subconscious feeling that they are not actually subject to the trial of action, and that they perceive a clearly defined statement as inconvenient—because it is too close to reality—and therefore oppose it - however, we all have little time left to lose, for just as the nationalist awakening among the peoples of Europe is pushing toward new forms, so too are other nations and races undergoing an internal transformation, followed by social and political upheavals whose consequences cannot yet be fully grasped.

Regardless of whether, for example, China emerges as a renewed great power in the Far East, regardless of whether Japan seizes absolute leadership of the yellow race, or regardless of whether an alliance of similarly powerful states arises in East Asia, what once held influence over them in the forms of so-called “inherited European cultural heritage” will vanish from the consciousness of both the Chinese and the Japanese; then there, too, renewal will grow organically from their own blood, their own traditions, and their own political destiny, and they will therefore reject “European spirituality” with redoubled hostility. A fundamental requirement for all Europeans will be to refrain from any “cultural propaganda” out of respect for the distinct culture of the racially pure Yellow East, and to focus all interaction on politics,

technology, and economics: the internal renewal of our own national character will, in this regard, recognize the achievements of the yellow race without prejudice.

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Africa, too, is awakening, though its races are not uniform, nor are they equal, for there are vast differences in moral qualities among the “blacks.”

Two facts, however, remain: that a true black culture does not exist, and that a mixture of black and white races leads to disastrous hybridization.

Africa’s lack of its own statehood implies, in terms of world politics, the right of the Western powers to colonize; this right, however, must entail abandoning the entire liberal “educational ideology” in Africa as well—to not seek to turn the black person, who is of a completely different nature, into a “European man of culture,” not to seek to split his soul, but instead allowing him to shape his own thinking and feeling. The punishments regarding racial mixing, however, must be considered self-evident self-defense, and anyone who, in principle and in practice, sought to promote racial chaos here would have to be regarded by all Western nations as an open threat to the white race.

The large mixed-race regions around the Indian Ocean, etc., require strong-handed governance, and since white people depend on the products and markets of these countries for their very survival, it is in the common interest of all Europeans to maintain unconditional rule over these territories, since otherwise the social consequences of relinquishing this control will transform all of Europe into a camp of permanently unemployed people, and seal its downfall in bloody civil wars.

At the forefront of the revolt of mixed-race peoples worldwide stands the Bolshevik movement, and a mere mention of this fact must suffice here to establish, in principle, a practical common ground in the defense of all of Europe, from which ways to overcome this global threat must be found, regardless of how political relations with Russia may develop.

The question, then, of how “Europe” stands in a positive cultural sense vis-à-vis the rest of the world—especially the Asian and African world—can be answered in a single word: not at all; therefore, it is not necessary to attempt to find a common denominator among the various European nationalisms, for they constitute a purely European problem.

Genuine nationalism, which today reflects on the physical and spiritual substance of the people, is increasingly and consciously separating itself from all interests of a capitalist or other purely subjective nature; therefore, with conscious further development and deepening, it will be able to restore—not heightened, hate-filled activity—but rather that respect and chivalry which have today nearly vanished from the world, because every bearer of genuine values will also feel respect for the representative of another form of authenticity, rather than treacherous business rivalry.

Young nationalism, then, is called upon to accomplish what crude internationalism of all shades has proven incapable of achieving: for example, an effective limitation on armaments will never be brought about through complaints and humanitarian rhetoric, but only when a fervent nationalist regards the people—its scholars, artists, soldiers, and youth—as the most sacred asset, and can only consider deploying them alongside or against modern military technology as a very last resort; only such a man will view the greatest possible catastrophe of war not from the standpoint of the stock market or the war

supply business, as has often been the case thus far, whether under a “nationalist” guise or under the guise of internationalist propaganda.

As dominant as the abstract concept of the state was in the age of liberalism, it was not this state that controlled the economy, but rather, the state had gradually been privatized by major banks and corporations - thus, a crucial problem for all the major European states is to eliminate from their foreign and domestic policies the private interests of speculators of all kinds—who are often linked by family ties across all nations; only in this way will the truly creative economy regain the prestige it once possessed but has now—insofar as it still exists—nearly lost.

Finding the means by which this issue will be resolved is a matter for each individual nation: the problem and its ultimate solution, however, are pan-European.<sup>100</sup>

This observation, too, represents a rejection—necessarily resulting from the most severe trials—of the subjectivism of the “ideas of 1789”: people today now recognize that subjectivism and personality are not identical, but rather opposites, and that while the individual entity of the liberalist worldview has been aggregated millions of times over into “humanity”, the personality is still the culmination of organic laws, grounded in blood, soil, and tradition, and which govern a structured, and therefore limited, growth. Only the law can bring us freedom, and securing the freedom of the whole and of the individual is possible only in the struggle against the agents of chaos, whether they present the global economy to us—intellectually or instinctively—as a desirable ideal.

In truth, however, there is no such thing as a global economy, and today what until now existed only in name is finally coming into being: the national economy; this, too, is one aspect of the great process of nationalization in whose current we are all caught up, a process that will soon have permeated and reshaped all manifestations of existence as the revolution of the 20th century.

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One particular entity from which Europe stands apart is the American continent, above all the United States of North America.

Created by Europeans, yet never subsequently isolated, the United States has been unable to develop a unified intellectual identity - thus, having risen to the pinnacle of politics through an unbridled entrepreneurial spirit, carefree self-confidence, and a lack of heavy historical burdens, the United States is experiencing a trajectory opposite to that of the European nations.

While the latter began with fairy tales and legends, with religious myths, devotional paintings, and fervent sacred architecture, only to then experience their technological age—and, as a task, to transcend this through a new cultural development—America began with technology and without this mythic foundation - thus, whether it will be able to bear a heavy fate spiritually—that is, whether it has truly already become a nation secure in itself—only the future can decide.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was a vision of America that revealed, in its deeper depths, a profound and contemplative moment: perhaps the social hardship faced by the 10 million unemployed will bring America closer to addressing its still-unresolved problems.

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<sup>100</sup> This may seem contradictory compared to Rosenberg’s earlier essays about “pan-Europeanism”; however, one must distinguish the difference between the Pan-Europe of a world republic, as defined by Kalergi, and the Pan-Europe of a Europe of individual nations that each have their own tasks to perform. - The Translator

Europe, however, must never forget that America was once a creation born of its own blood, that in the great conflicts to come, all of America must be drawn to the side of the white man in the demarcation of races, peoples, and cultures on this globe.

America, having become great and powerful through expansion, does not face the mission of continuing this expansion, but, on the contrary, it faces the problem of turning its youthful energy inward, for if it fails to master the looming “black danger,” if it fails to transform farmers into true peasants, then its domination of the world will remain fruitless, and its current power will be exposed to the most severe upheavals in great struggles for destiny due to a lack of an inner will to resist, which is rooted in the soil. Warning voices from America itself indicate that far-sighted people fear the danger of a purely capitalist expansion—one that would then inevitably have to be “secured” by force—and see in it not an economic strengthening, but a dispersal of the true national strength, which here, too, does not consist of high-yield bonds, but—as everywhere in the world—in the physical health and labor power of its citizens.

The states of Europe can act here only with caution, in the common interest of their continent and of the “white man” in general; no one, however, should lose sight of this problem, all the more so as boundless private capitalism is itself prepared to support even the Bolshevik idea through business interests.

Bolshevism, however, is not an economic theory, nor merely a political movement, but is, rather, the powerful symbol of the collapse of a millennia-old world in Europe: it is the antagonist from below, opposing the awakening of a new sense of national identity, one that dates back millennia and springs from the secure instinct that, on this deepest yet most solid ground of one’s own national self, one possesses unchanging foundations of character—now that so much of what lies in between has been called into question.

Bolshevism does not rally economic theorists of a communist bent around the world, but rather the desperate victims of the liberal-capitalist era: it lures adventurers from all over the world; and, ultimately, it needs as its vanguard the criminal underworld of all major cities—that which an American has rightly called the “subhuman race.”

Bolshevism has seized a state and tyrannically rules a people; it has destroyed the creative forces of this people, and in its governance it has proved incapable of saving even Russia—once rich in grain—from starvation.

It was incapable of bringing about even the slightest development, and—as a “workers’ state”—it ended up enslaving the workers more than any other political system ever had - thus, in the end, it had to beg for help from the very peoples of Europe and the United States that it had reviled, and it received that help because the “economy” of those countries, which was in the grip of economic depressions, was on the lookout for exports and profits: in summary, the peoples are building with their own hands those armies that are destined to one day overwhelm them all, in alliance with all the mixed-race peoples of Asia and all the black peoples of Africa.

Bolshevism cannot be fought with cannons or through military coalitions, but only through the living realization that all Marxist Internationals have brought not salvation, but only calamity to the workers of all nations.

Every worker is just as much a part of a national organism as the peasant and the citizen; indeed, he is more closely bound to his homeland than anyone else, and if a liberal-capitalist era has stolen this homeland from him, he must not betray it, but must reclaim it.

In this upheaval within the soul of the “proletariat,” in the elimination of the entire leadership of the Marxist Internationals, lies the possibility of overcoming even Bolshevism—as the ultimate consequence of Marxism—and one of the most important missions of the young nationalism of our day.

From the problems faced by every nation thus arises once again a pan-European one—in this case, a profoundly cultural, almost religious one: herein also lies the ultimate test of whether the peoples of Europe can move on from these relics of the past that have outlived their usefulness, or whether they have sunk so low as to be willing to allow their spiritual substance to be trampled underfoot altogether. It may be stated as a deepest conviction that the decisive struggle between order and chaos is being waged in Germany, and that any weakening of its vital force—no matter what measures are taken—would therefore only serve the anti-European ideology itself, and bring it victory from Singapore through Calcutta to the Rhine; it is clear to anyone willing to reflect even slightly more deeply on this global threat that it will then be unstoppable.

It is futile to try to gloss over Europe’s existential problems with a smoothing hand, for as the questions have been posed, they must now be answered—and this is still easier today than if an unmanly mindset, out of convenience, were to hesitate in providing an answer, thereby allowing future circumstances to become entangled, perhaps to the point of no return.

The demands placed on Europe are as follows: Europe stands as a unified political power before Asia and Africa; Europe recognizes the spirit and nature of all races and all existing cultures, and refrains from seeking to impose the spiritual life of white people upon peoples of other races; finally, Europe recognizes the great nations and states of the yellow race and their right to exist, though Europe must also unanimously secure dominion over those Asian-African territories that its people require, all the more so since the peoples in question do not appear capable of self-governance.

Europe can present a united front politically and economically to the outside world only if it recognizes the deepest law of its existence—the fourfold structure of its cultural soul—and grants every tree of life the right to grow and flourish according to its own strength, as a fulfillment and a right.

It is a law of self-preservation for the whole when the currents of power of these great nations stand back-to-back rather than against one another: Germany toward the east and northeast, France toward the south, Italy toward the southeast and east, and Great Britain directed across the seas; any obstruction of the activity of one of the great European cultural forces would have to be regarded by all three others as an attack on their own vital interests and met with a corresponding response.

Only then can a European unity emerge—amidst a spiritual diversity that must never be suppressed—within which the smaller nations can likewise fulfill their existence on their own soil; only then will this unity be able to manifest itself outwardly, toward other continents and races.

If we fail to achieve this, then we will all face the fate of Sparta and Athens—a fate we will have brought upon ourselves, and thus also deserved.

## The NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office

From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 5th, 1933

A representative of the "Nationalsozialistischen Partei-Korrespondenz" (National Socialist Party Correspondence) had the opportunity to interview Alfred Rosenberg, the head of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office—which had been newly established on April 1st, 1933—about the office's origins and responsibilities - among other things, Alfred Rosenberg stated:

*“The NSDAP has treated foreign policy with the awareness that it was a delicate matter that was by no means to be handled in a routine, bureaucratic manner: for this reason, over the years, the Führer has entrusted certain foreign policy issues to various individuals directly familiar with the problems, and has kept himself informed of the results of this individual work.*

*It gradually became apparent, however, that the widespread interest in our policies led some party offices to take a stance on foreign policy issues of their own accord, which often resulted in various misunderstandings; it therefore became necessary to establish a framework that would prevent all such unilateral initiatives in the future.*

*This is all the more important now that the National Socialist movement represents the strongest political force in Germany, and the word of an NSDAP representative carries more weight today than that of any other political group.”*

Alfred Rosenberg commented as follows on the further tasks of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office:

*“Germany is now being visited by a large number of interested individuals from all parts of the world, and it is urgently necessary that these individuals be immediately referred to an authoritative central office of the NSDAP; another area of responsibility for the Office of Foreign Policy involves monitoring events abroad and deepening our understanding of the activities of various individuals; more generally, the Foreign Policy Office's responsibilities also include addressing the issues of the Eastern Territories, the Danube region, and the major question of German equality, as well as recruiting young individuals who may one day be called upon to play an active role in shaping Germany's foreign policy.*

*The NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office reports directly to the Führer and will support him in making the necessary decisions through its preparatory work.*

*As soon as the Office is established, more detailed instructions on all these matters will be issued to the relevant party bodies.”*

In conclusion, Alfred Rosenberg stated:

*“The fate of the German nation will depend on the shaping of foreign policy developments, on a precise understanding of events, and on an unerring assessment of the situation—all of which go hand in hand with Germany's internal rebirth.*

*I hope that through the NSDAP's Office of Foreign Policy, the realization can be instilled in the German people that foreign policy is not the affair of a small caste, but must be the concern of the entire nation, and that the nation must know how to represent its will to live firmly and with dignity as a prerequisite for comprehensive state renewal.”*

## **The New Germany and the Treaty of Versailles**

**This speech was delivered on June 28th, 1933—the anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles—in the Reichstag chamber at the Kroll Opera House.**

Today we commemorate one of the darkest days in German history in a different frame of mind and under different political circumstances than in the past.

Today, a wave of confidence and faith is sweeping across Germany, and the German national spirit is preparing to overcome, deep within itself, the heavy burden of the past 14 years: it is precisely because we are sustained by great hopes, however, that the shadows of Versailles seem deeper and darker to us than before.

The 14 years that have passed throughout the world have caused much to be forgotten; they have also caused much of what took place back then to fade from memory in Germany itself.

Even today, it is not a matter of presenting details, but nevertheless, the place the Treaty of Versailles occupies in our eyes within world history must be clearly defined - thus, it is necessary to go back to its very origins.

We do not recognize the Treaty of Versailles as having come into being legally, and we deny it the moral right to call itself a “treaty”, hence the fact that we have spoken of it as a “dictate” for 14 years: this is because we are convinced—and I believe that future historiography among all nations will one day come to share this conviction—that between October 5th and November 11th, 1918, something took place that is referred to in international law as a “preliminary peace”, and that this preliminary peace was not upheld after Germany laid down its arms, but was violated.

In early October, the German Chancellor had requested that President Wilson initiate peace negotiations; this request sparked a lengthy diplomatic debate, and exactly one month later, the American government informed Germany of the Entente’s willingness to conclude an agreement based on President Wilson’s message—that is, on the so-called 14 Points.

One can no longer claim today that this offer by the Entente came suddenly in any way; rather, its leaders at the time discussed the issues in great detail, and the reply note explicitly emphasized that the 14 Points were recognized as the basis for peace—with two exceptions.

These exceptions were precisely defined, as they concerned the interpretation of the concept of freedom of the seas and the provision that the occupied territories would not only be restored, but that compensation would also be paid for all damages caused by attacks at sea, on land, and in the air.

Everyone was pushing for an armistice at the time; even Field Marshal Haig later wrote that the Entente, too, urgently needed the armistice and that, ultimately, the United States of America had almost threatened to conclude a separate peace with Germany - thus, there were also very real reasons on the other side to strive for a preliminary peace, and the Entente’s general note of June 16th, 1919, explicitly confirmed these preliminary peace negotiations as the legal basis.

However, the disarmament of Germany then took place between November 1918 and June 1919: everything that had been promised before suddenly no longer applied, and the 14 Points were, during the negotiations in Versailles, scarcely more than a basis for discussion.

On January 18th, 1919—that is, on the anniversary of the founding of the German Reich—the peace conference opened in Paris, and now, though often following internal struggles within the conference itself, one blow after another was dealt, directed against Germany, against Germany's present, and against Germany's future: the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine was taken for granted from the outset; the seizure of the German colonies was decided in a discussion lasting mere minutes, and the establishment of a 50-kilometer zone was devised as a particular act of humiliation for Germany.

Then began the great struggle over the demarcation of Germany's eastern borders: this single example demonstrates just how far the Paris Peace Conference had strayed from rational leadership, and just how much it was dominated by an almost blind passion.

In his 14 Points, Wilson had promised the Poles free access to the sea, but by this, he—and initially everyone else—meant nothing more than that Danzig, for example, would become a free port, and that the lower Vistula would be internationalized; however, under constant pressure from Polish representatives in America and at the conference, this point was then interpreted in such a way that “free access to the sea” came to mean the fragmentation of the German nation: the free port of Danzig became a so-called “Free State” detached from the German nation and the German state, and the internationalization of the Vistula became a vast Polish territory that is erroneously referred to merely as a “Polish Corridor.”

In the midst of the conference, many voices were raised against this irrational arrangement: General Smuts of South Africa wrote a protest letter to Lloyd George, and the American representative, General Blitz, also raised his voice in opposition; even Lloyd George himself wrote a memorandum on the matter and warned against this outrageous arrangement for some time - however, all of these voices were in vain. When the elections to the Weimar National Assembly took place, it became apparent that in the area we call the Polish Corridor, well over half of the eligible voters declared their support for Germany and spoke out in favor of German parties; none of this, however, had any influence on the peace conference.

Furthermore, on February 11th, President Wilson had addressed a message to the U.S. Senate, clearly stating that there should be no annexations, no contributions, and no claims for reparations as punishments; however, no sooner had these words been spoken than the opposing forces made themselves heard, and the result of these solemn promises was that Germany was to pay hundreds and hundreds of billions.

The figures soared to between 300 and 400 billion—far more than the entire German national wealth actually amounted to: this ultimately amounted to a virtually blank check for the Entente powers.

Under this dictate of tribute, Germany has now had to bleed and suffer for 14 years as a consequence of Versailles, and although Wilson promised not to impose any punishment, after lengthy negotiations the infamous Article 231 was inserted, which not only declared Germany—and rarely the Entente—guilty of unleashing the Great War, but also included a provision whereby Germany was compelled to acknowledge this verdict of its adversaries as just and valid: that, I believe, was the greatest humiliation ever inflicted upon a great nation in its history.

While these negotiations were ongoing, the Saar region was, as it were, wrested from Germany for a long time, as the French representative stood up and declared that 150,000 French people lived in the Saar region.

A petition from the Saar residents was then drawn up with a staggering number of signatures; it later turned out, however, that these signatures had been forged by the opposing side, though this did not prevent Germany, during those 14 years of its rule, from losing the Saar region, which is as much under international administration as it is mismanaged.

At the same time, Germany's merchant fleet was also taken from it, and German private property throughout the world—the fruit of decades and centuries of German diligence and German humanity—was confiscated.

When today, in various countries, the new government—which is setting out to overcome the old party structures—is accused of Bolshevism because, allegedly, a different opinion or a different party cannot exist, just as in Moscow, we must explain that a “Bolshevik” intervention has already once taken place when the capitalist Entente confiscated German private property: the principle of property, upon which politics and the economy had been based for centuries, was violated at that time, and this breach has not been repaired to this day.

A whole series of other serious interventions also followed: the German cable networks—worth billions—were expropriated, and the German war fleet had to be surrendered, though it was scuttled on a heroic day in the bay of Scapa Flow.

The point here is not to list all these hundreds of details and document them in depth, but merely to suggest the sheer force with which these events weighed upon the German people at the time, along with the unbridled passion that raged against Germany then.

Ultimately, the entire peace conference set itself the goal of leaving Germany permanently disarmed, on its knees, and of carrying out its disarmament to the very end - however, in order to somehow justify this outrageous decision, it was written and promised that German disarmament would mark the beginning of a general limitation on armaments.

Hundreds of demands have been made of Germany over these 14 years, and in that time it has only been granted a single right; even then, for the past 10 years, attempts have been made to deny it even that one right.

General Bliss, the Americans' chief representative on this issue, later stated in Philadelphia:

*“In full good faith, and on their honor, the 27 nations have solemnly pledged to undertake general arms limitation as soon as practicable once Germany has fulfilled its prior obligations.”*

Before his death, Marshal Foch also confirmed that Germany had in fact disarmed - thus, Germany has fulfilled its obligations, and the right—the German right—to the disarmament of others has been recognized in recent years by Henderson, Lloyd George, and many other statesmen.

The Disarmament Commission has been working in Geneva since 1925, and the Disarmament Conference has been in session for a year and a half - and yet, people are still talking about the control of German civil aviation, about the German police, about the global threat allegedly posed by the current auxiliary police force in Germany, about the SA, about the military associations; they, however, simply do not talk about the real issue, which is the other side's disarmament obligations.

Here, France's security doctrine looms as an almost insurmountable obstacle in all negotiations: France today is a single fortress stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean; France possesses the largest army in Europe; France faces a demilitarized German zone; French artillery can easily cover the entire German industrial region; France has the strongest air force on the continent; in the East, it has heavily armed allies, and it is guaranteed by the Treaty of Locarno - nevertheless, it continues to claim to this day that its security is threatened.

I believe that once these facts truly sink in with the European public, and if the relevant French authorities should continue to assert in the future that France's security is threatened, then those French authorities

will be passing judgment on the character of their own people—a judgment with which we ourselves cannot agree.

In the current situation, it is not the French state that is endangered, but Germany - thus, we have every reason to adopt the French security thesis for ourselves, for no people in the world today faces a greater threat to its very existence than the German people: the fact that unidentified aircraft can scatter propaganda leaflets across the entire German Reich without ever being apprehended has symbolically demonstrated just how degrading and humiliating Germany's position in world politics remains even today.

People all over the world today speak of the “solution to the Jewish question” in Germany: they say it is barbaric for the German government to discriminate against an entire people such as the Jews - however, we need only state here that the German government has made the greatest efforts to change—in the most chivalrous and lawful manner—the situation that had become untenable and had existed since 1918.

We believe that it is intolerable—and we believe that every impartial foreign observer will understand this as well—for 74 percent of all lawyers in the capital to be Jewish, or for 80 to 90 percent of the doctors in Berlin's hospitals to be Jewish, for this is a situation that was not brought about by any particular achievement on the part of the lawyers and doctors in question, but arose because a certain political system had selected and appointed only Jewish doctors, etc; it was therefore necessary that our German youth, who had gone hungry and begged for years, now also have access to work and bread.

We have not discriminated against an entire people here, but have merely restored justice and equality; in fact, the government has even gone much further: it has readmitted to the professions all those who did not actively participate in the discrimination against Germany, so that even now we still have about 30 percent Jewish lawyers in Berlin, which is still 30 times more than the percentage to which the Jewish people are entitled.

This is not a matter of so-called persecution of the Jews or incitement against them, but merely a matter of justice toward the German nation as well - however, I would also like to express my purely personal opinion that, if other nations had experienced something similar to what we Germans have endured over the course of the past fourteen years, they might not have proceeded as lawfully and with as much restraint as we have.

We grant everyone the right to accuse us of discriminating against the Jews as long as the humiliation of the great German people by the Treaty of Versailles is tolerated or even defended.

The right of other nations to now disarm is internationally recognized, but one now hears in some parliaments of other states that as long as a dictatorship exists in Germany, there can be no question of revising the treaties: we wish to state here, before the entire public, that the right to revision has never been made contingent upon a country's internal form of government, and that Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which provides that international treaties that have become untenable may be amended, makes no mention whatsoever of a specific form of government or regime being a prerequisite should any nation raise such demands; this is an attempt to steer the entire issue onto the wrong track and to bring about a blatant distortion of the entire situation.

If the others do not disarm, they have failed to fulfill their obligations; they have thus begun the revision of the treaties, violated their own treaties, and thereby forfeit the right to make any further demands on us: that is the general political situation in which we find ourselves even today.

We must also note something else, that not only do they refuse to grant us political peace, but they also seek to prevent us from establishing social peace in Germany, for as the Reich Chancellor stated on May 17th, Germany has lost well over 200,000 people to suicide in this decade: these are the victims of Versailles; these are the victims of the reparations; these are the victims of all the oppression to which Germany has been subjected.

Over the past decade, Germany has lost around 1 million emigrants—people who will likely be lost to the German nation for the most part, who were enterprising and probably not the least capable among the German people: we must attribute all of this as a loss to the nation, charged to the account of Versailles and its consequences.

Furthermore, as a result of this dictate and these reparations, Germany has had to contend with an ever-increasing unemployment figure, which is seven million and more: the current Reich government, however, is making the greatest and most strenuous efforts to overcome this atmosphere of doom in Germany, and to create work and bread.

I believe that the latest major projects that have been announced have shown the German people and the world that an energetic hand has finally taken hold of this unemployment problem; the Labor Service is also being called upon to create jobs and to steel people's character, making them inwardly strong enough to cope with the work of the coming years.

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However, we must add some very serious conclusions to these accusations, for we all knew full well that one can rarely expect anything good from the enemy.

For fourteen years, we have not only leveled accusations against the Entente, but we have also declared that the Entente was able to act as it did because it had accomplices in Germany - thus, when we speak of Versailles, it is necessary to add, by way of clarification, that the French model of democracy is alien to our nature, and that after all, the parliamentary system, in its entire ideological foundation, was ultimately also the worldview of those who have ruled from 1918 until now.

It is shocking to read how Bethmann-Hollweg writes in his "Erinnerungen" (*Memoirs*) that Germany had nothing comparable to counter the Entente's propaganda and ideology - thus, a former German Reich Chancellor declared himself, from the outset, inwardly incapable of leading his nation with a grand slogan, and that in his heart and ideology, he was at home not in Berlin, but in Paris.

And his successors? They drew their own conclusions from this, for if Foreign Minister Rathenau could write down his infamous statement:

*"If the German Emperor had been victorious, world history would have lost its meaning."*

Then I believe that this man, of all people, should never have been Germany's foreign minister, and that the blame for having kept this man in office falls on all those who now hold no power in Germany.

We must also recall the actions of Erzberger, the leader of the Center Party, who, at the time when the peace treaty was under debate in Weimar, went almost daily to the French observer and representative to report on the negotiations—with the result that the French representative was able to telegraph to Paris:

*"The Germans are accepting everything; no concessions are necessary."*

We have witnessed all of this: we have also witnessed how the German defenders of the fatherland were labeled professional murderers by the press in Berlin, and we have also witnessed how a German front-line soldier was brought onto a German stage in Berlin as a corpse with a steel helmet on his head, and a paid actor being forced to kick him and say, “Filt—get rid of it!” - this has not been forgiven by the followers of Adolf Hitler and his movement, and the reckoning with the November criminals has now begun.

In the full awareness of their power and out of a sense of triumph at having achieved what they had striven for for decades, they had cast off all pretense and overcome all inhibitions - thus, since all of this has been recorded in the annals of the German Revolution for fourteen years, the time will also come when the foreign world—which is still uninformed today—will also take note of these facts and then understand what has taken place in Germany, and what must still take place.

For fourteen years, we have maintained the conviction that a genuine German foreign policy can be conducted only by a united people, and that a foreign policy cannot be successfully pursued when there are parties behind us who openly declare that treason is a matter of honor: for example, it was simply impossible to discuss German foreign policy matters in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Reichstag because we knew full well that by the next day, everything discussed there would be known in Paris and Moscow.

We believe that German foreign policy is not merely a matter of insight and wisdom, but above all a matter of character; and what is currently taking place in Germany is the purification of this German character from all parasites.

At Versailles, they sought to enslave Germany forever: they sought to divide it socially, and ultimately to dismember it through separatist movements.

I believe that other nations would have collapsed under similar pressure, but we have witnessed the mystery of our time: that today, after these terrible years, the German people are celebrating their greatest resurrection and rebirth.

Meister Eckehart once said:

*“It is the deepest wells that hold the highest waters.”*

Thus, when we speak of Versailles, we must also acknowledge something positive about it - namely, that it was precisely the passionate and hate-filled will of the men who sat together in Versailles at that time that has become one of the causes of this German resurrection, which today is directed against their own work.

We believe that, under the heavy pressure of a great destiny, Germany has undergone a development over the course of ten years that other nations may still need fifty years to achieve, as we also believe that many of the problems that have arisen in Germany as a result of Versailles—but also as a result of other social structures—and that have already been partially resolved, are also problems that concern other nations; we believe, however, that one cannot simply instruct all nations based on a single idea, for every nation has its own laws, its own history, its own blood, its own character, and its own traditions, and these should not be disrupted.

But the line of thought—that an era of 150 years shaped by French intellectual traditions is now coming to an end—is already slowly taking root in the souls and minds of many millions upon millions

throughout the world, for the mammoth conferences that are convening are no longer a sign of great inner strength, but rather a symbol of the inner desolation, thoughtlessness, and hopelessness of a dying age - thus, the German Revolution is therefore a struggle for social peace, for peace within the Reich itself, and precisely for this reason it also strives to maintain a just peace with the outside world in order to solve the problem of our time—the social question—in the spirit of genuine socialism, that is, in the spirit of state-guaranteed social justice.

We believe that it is not we who threaten world peace, but that the Treaty of Versailles, in its flawed design, not only deprives Germany of peace, but also endangers the peace of other nations; we can also confirm that, while a strong movement against Germany is now becoming apparent, and while the boycott—which was once publicly advocated—continues to gnaw away from within, we can say to the other nations that, after many trials, Germany has finally found the form of government that is appropriate for itself and for the 20th century.

This anti-communist, National Socialist conception of the state is an element of stability the likes of which has not existed in Central Europe for 20 years - therefore, when small groups in other countries call for an economic boycott with the aim of breaking this new Germany, they are doing something that the majority of other nations should naturally oppose, which is abusing the sovereignty of other states: these small groups do not ask whether England or America has a vital interest in entering into hostility with today's Germany, but simply demand that other states intervene on behalf of their minority interests. We further believe that, should they truly succeed in bringing down Adolf Hitler's Germany through a ring of opponents, a new democratic era would not follow, but rather chaos would spread throughout Central Europe and all of Europe: that would not only be the end of world peace and the end of all economic rationality, but it would also be the end of all those young states that today believe they must still form political alliances against Germany.

The German Revolution is directed against no single country, no single other people, and none of the new states, for it is precisely because it has a massive task to fulfill within the country that it strives for peace with the outside world as well.

I believe that if we trace the German Revolution back to the days of August 1914, and consider that the Treaty of Versailles had to be signed on June 28th—the anniversary of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand—then this revolution has more honorable ancestors than the Treaty of Versailles.

A stirring has come to life in the depths of the German soul: it has not come to life through an abstract theory, but is a revolution of instinct, a revolution of character; our struggle is therefore dedicated to this expression of the German spirit.

This struggle is dedicated to overcoming those treaties of peace and strife that have not only enslaved Germany, but also threaten the peace of other nations: it is a struggle for the rebirth of the German soul, for the recognition of German national rights, for the idea of young nationalism, and for the idea of a realm of the strictest social justice in the struggle for Germany's honor and freedom.

### **The Dying World Economic Conference**

**From the *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 6th, 1933**

The World Economic Conference in London was arguably the largest international gathering we have ever witnessed: sixty-six countries, represented by 2,000 delegates, formed a massive assembly of experts from around the world and gathered to finally investigate the causes of the global crisis in order to move from a diagnosis to a cure for the nations.

However, even before the deliberations began, the whole world had the unpleasant feeling that this major conference had either not been prepared at all, or only very incompletely, and that, above all, there was a lack of clear guiding principles and proposals that could serve as the basis for the experts' debates; this feeling spread more and more as it was felt that the conference leadership wanted to place all nations, as it were, under moral pressure, with the aim of ensuring that any attempt to disrupt this conference would result in the defamation of the disruptor.

The debates that ensued showed all too clearly that the current course of events no longer strives toward the unification of global economic forces, but rather, that the attempts of 19th-century financial capitalism to channel all national economies into a single, supreme global economic hierarchy have long since become obsolete, and a counter-movement has now begun.

President Roosevelt's initiative—that is, the initiative of the representative of a highly capitalist state—was an indication of a global revolution in the midst of which we find ourselves, and his emphasis that America, above all else, wished to place its own national economy at the center of its thinking signified the clearest break with all attempts at global economic standardization, unless one were to recognize the Pax Americana, that is, the American peace, under absolute dollar dominance as the basis for negotiations.

The gathering of 2,000 experts from around the world was therefore not a sign of great strength, but quite the opposite—a symptom of a bygone era that sought to conceal its inner weakness and lack of faith through a mass mobilization.

National Socialism drew the theoretical conclusions from this long ago, and is now, as a state, setting about putting them into practice: this is not a reproach against individual delegates, but a simple statement of the global political and economic reality, which National Socialism has understood for fourteen years after distinguishing between financial-capitalist thinking and truly national-economic thinking.

National Socialism has always emphasized that we have a true people's economy almost nowhere, and that what appears unprofitable from a purely financial perspective is vital from the standpoint of a national economy: this shift from financial capitalism to organic thinking is now taking place at great speed among all healthy and vibrant nations, and no matter how hard Marxists and Jews still try today to orchestrate a global boycott against Germany and portray the thinking of the National Socialist movement as barbaric, the facts of our time are stronger than these desperate efforts.

If today's Germany keeps its cool—and there is no doubt about that—then the German revolutionary idea of a labor front between employers and workers, the idea of a regulated labor service, and the idea of state financing based on consumer needs will increasingly gain acceptance, as just as the grandly idealized notion of a world republic—the United States of Europe—will give way to a balanced system of major cities grounded in national vital interests, so too will the idea of a top-down controlled global economy disappear, to be replaced by an exchange of mutually defined regional economic interests.

The great era of formless expansion across all spheres will give way to an inward consolidation, and with this, a fundamental trend of the 20th century will be revealed in all spheres of life - thus, the sooner a state

resolves to follow these inner laws of nature, the more it will be able to take the lead intellectually, and the more sustainably its recovery will become visible to the rest of the world.

We are confident that 2,000 people will be unable to make better and wiser decisions than a committee of ten men who have grasped the upheaval of the times, and we therefore place our trust in the organic development currently underway, with the hope that, once the 19th century has been overcome, the time will come in one nation after another when a small group of thinkers—who have experienced the direction of the 20th century—will come together to truly establish the necessary boundaries, in the spirit of cooperation, between national economies, from Europe to the other continents, and between Europe and America vis-à-vis the other powers of the globe, in the spirit of cooperation.

### **The Racial Determinism of Foreign Policy**

**Alfred Rosenberg delivered this speech at the “Party Congress of Victory” in Nuremberg in September 1933, prior to the party convention.**

We have not a moment's doubt that throughout nearly the entire world there is a rejection—and in some cases even a passionate aversion—toward the new Germany and the National Socialist revolution: this negative attitude on the part of a large portion of the international community is certainly not attributable to malice, nor is it primarily due to the opposition of “emigrants” from Germany, but rather, in our view, has much deeper causes.

The existence of all states is burdened by serious intellectual, political, and social problems, and is threatened by what is generally referred to as the “world crisis”: it is therefore understandable that nations which, following the great struggles of 1914–18, did not suffer as severely as Germany have retained a stronger driving force from the fabric of their prewar lives and, accordingly, strive to address the newly emerging issues using the means of the past.

For the past 14 years, however, Germany has found itself in an entirely different situation, for not only had it sacrificed its finest sons, but the Reich had been dismembered; enormous reparations demands sapped its spirit and labor force, and immense political pressure weighed upon the entire nation as a consequence of the dictates of the Treaty of Versailles; added to this was the fact that a system began to prevail within the Reich that contradicted all the great traditions of the German people—indeed, that rejected everything consistent with the eternal values of Germanness.

Under this terrible pressure, then, Germany has now, in 14 years, undergone a development that, under different circumstances, would have taken many decades, perhaps a century: it has been in this period that—which is very brief in the life of a nation—all possibilities of earlier forms of government and society were tested, with the result that none of them was capable of mastering the problems of our time, and the fragmentation of the nation continued to advance.

Because National Socialism, with its Führer, had discerned the malaise of the times more clearly than the others, and because National Socialism was a great unifying experience in that it sought to uphold the nation's eternal values in accordance with the demands of—and with the aid of—the modern forms of our time, it was able to restore the new Reich to its rightful path and the German nation to its long-awaited unity - thus, we therefore believe that, in order to assess the situation in Germany at all, one must first acknowledge the fact of rapid development—driven by intense pressure—as a prerequisite for any judgment, and we are therefore firmly convinced that, through the national revolution, Germany has by no means “returned to the Middle Ages,” but rather occupies, in many respects, an intellectual and political position to which fate—albeit over longer periods of time—will also compel the other great nations, in forms appropriate to their character.

Nineteenth-century nationalism has died today: as a young movement, it was a global phenomenon that blazed with unconditional grandeur in the German Wars of Liberation; a phenomenon that led the Italian nation to political unity, and an uprising that swept the peoples of the Balkans just as it did the nations of South America - however, the fundamental insight for us is that while both Germany and some other nations had achieved political unity at the state level, the idea of social and cultural unity—which ought to form a single entity with the state—had not yet been realized; the National Socialist movement, however, represents a magnificent attempt at such a comprehensive vision.

Nineteenth-century nationalism very quickly fell either into the hands of dynastic cabinet politics, as we observed on one hand at the Viennese court or in the empire of Napoleon III, or, on the other hand, into

the clutches of international financial magnates, who turned the yearning cries of all peoples into campaign slogans designed to serve the private interests of these financial magnates.

The great Panama scandal in France, certain developments during the formative years of the Bismarckian Empire, the futile attempts of French Boulangism<sup>101</sup>, and the unheeded prophetic cries of Nietzsche and Paul de Lagarde—all of these illustrate this struggle between genuine national will and those forces that viewed money as a driving force for power, and who exploited the power of nations for speculative private interests - thus, nationalism was no longer rooted in the people, but was distorted into the battle cry of uprooted intellectuals, cosmopolitans, and big businessmen.

The socialist movement suffered a similar fate to that of nationalism, for it was once a healthy protest by a generation betrayed by fate, a generation that had been deprived of its right to exist by technological progress: this protest was genuine and justified, for it revealed the emergence of a strong will not to be disenfranchised as a pariah or treated as a slave.

This socialism, however, which sprang from a national sense of justice, fell into exactly the same hands as nationalism, and it was poisoned by internationalist rhetoric and a Jewish doctrine—which had nothing in common with the national character of the various countries—that preached class struggle as a means of achieving a supposedly socially just state.

The adherents of this doctrine failed to realize that when one part of an organism is incited to revolt against another, the result must ultimately be not a strengthening of the whole, but the destruction of the body itself - thus, we observe today that wherever this Marxism came to power, it could produce nothing but corrupt conditions in social and political life due to its parasitic origins; that rooted in cosmopolitan ideas and founded on a Second or Third International detached from blood and soil, it could not merge with the healthy aspirations of a nation, but was forced to constantly generate new, artificial electoral fervor, which it could do so only with the help of big money.

The fact that international Marxism is almost everywhere the servant—or at most, the futilely rebelling slave—of high finance is no coincidence, but the inevitable consequence of a doctrine that is organically flawed, contrary to nature, and therefore promotes decay and threatens the health of all nations: the upheavals shaking the entire world today are nature's revenge against the intellectual attempt to break its laws.

When abstract ideologies come into conflict with the aristocratic laws of organic life, convulsive spasms arise in the various national organisms: in the end, however, nature always prevails, even if it claims millions of victims—indeed, even if it wipes out entire peoples.

It then turns out as Plato once said: the Athenian law, according to which the most capable are “captured like young lions”, only to be led astray by the “magical chants and sleight of hand” of the preachers of equality, undermining the demands of life - but, if one were to rise again, it would trample these false magical remedies underfoot and emerge radiant as the “law of nature.”

We National Socialists place our movement within this philosophical and historical framework—in terms of domestic policy, cultural policy, and foreign policy—for we recognize that national identity is a value in and of itself to which other domestic interests must unconditionally submit, and that it is not a means for dynasties or global financial machinations.

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<sup>101</sup> A French nationalist movement fueled by France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and discontent with the Third Republic; this movement collapsed in 1899. - The Translator

This single insight, however, leads straight to the very field most attacked by the outside world, racial science, which leads to the assertion that without a thorough understanding of this issue, neither history nor the foreign policy of nations can be understood, and neither can be organically regulated in the future. We believe that the greatest discovery of our time lies in the experience and in the strictly scientific proof that it is no coincidence that people of different kinds walk this earth, that different states, cultures, and ways of life arise from the conditions of these distinctive traits, and that, consequently, blood and character are merely different words for the same essence: we know that a nation is defined by the predominance of a specific character determined by blood, and furthermore, by language, by the geographical environment, and by a shared sense of political destiny.

We also know, however, that these latter factors are not the definitive ones, but that blood—the dominant factor within a nation—is the decisive element.

Homer's sun still shines today over the same patch of earth as it did 3,000 years ago; the blue sea still laps at the same shores as it did then, and yet no Parthenon will ever rise again on this soil, and no *Iliad* will ever be sung anew there, because the racially determined humanity of the Greeks—as it stands before us, eternally carved in stone—has vanished from the face of the earth.

A people never consisted—and still does not consist today—of a uniformly gray mixture of all variations, but rather, at its first awakening, the great poets and heroes stand before us as the embodiment of the eternal values of a specific blood-soul; if, then, when looking back on these first great manifestations, a nation can no longer understand them or carry them forward in their true spirit, then it is inwardly lost as a people, and will also be unable to assert itself outwardly with full faith and strength.

The old view of history taught an abstract “development” toward the goal of a so-called Christianization of all people and races, and the 18th and 19th centuries proclaimed a so-called humanization of humanity: today's experience shows that both are merely imagined theories, abstract wishful thinking.

One thing can never become another from something of any kind, and furthermore, nothing can develop from nothing—nothing that was not already present in embryonic form; rather, only a very specific core possesses the predispositions and potential for development unique to it, just as a grain of wheat cannot produce barley.

During the decline of the Athenian state, the great Isocrates declared around 458:

*“It is not, however, the state that haphazardly amasses many citizens from all directions that is to be praised as happy, but rather the one that best preserves the race of those settled there from the very beginning.”*

If, therefore, the Germanic essence is brought to the forefront as the decisive factor for the new Germany, this represents the restoration of all those conditions from which once arose the great German cities, the entire ancient German legal system rooted in honor, heroic German music, and the great poetry ranging from the *Hildebrand Song* to *Faust*.

This does not, however—and this is the crucial point—mean preaching racial hatred, but rather, quite the opposite: it is the prerequisite for genuine respect for other races and an inner recognition of the values and cultural achievements of other nations as well, thereby strengthening all races against the chaos and decadence of the cosmopolitan cities.

If today's Italy, for example, emphasizes its Mediterranean heritage, it can do so with pride, and on the German side, this emphasis will be regarded as no more an act of arrogance than we ask that the Germanic revival in Germany not be viewed as arrogance.

We believe that this awareness of blood, despite all the theories of the 18th and 19th centuries that still persist, is today mysteriously resonating across the entire globe, and one people after another is being irresistibly swept up by it—though we do not, for that matter, consider ourselves justified in seeking to interfere in this process.

If certain reservations are raised on the Anglo-Saxon side in this regard, we understand this, for example, in light of Great Britain's tradition: we understand the British person's personal carefree attitude as springing from a sense of time-tested insular independence, which afforded the individual more opportunities than the German, who was threatened from all sides; that is why the British so rarely understand the necessity of Prussia's disciplined columns.

We also believe that we know that the British Empire, too, is based on the racial superiority of the white man, and will endure only as long as this form of self-assertion persists, as the Portuguese colonial empire serves as experimental proof that colonial empires can be ruled only through this racial and spiritual separation.

The ancient palaces of Goa are now enveloped by the jungle; the snakes of the primeval forest coil across their tiles, and a powerless humanity, ranging in color from light to the darkest brown, bears witness to the end of a once-mighty state that perished because it did not heed the voice of blood: history raises the question of whether Calcutta will one day look similarly desolate.

We also understand the strong individualism of North America: the great drive for freedom and conquest of the first pioneers continues to have an impact even today, and just as the sea provided security for the British, so did the vast, immeasurable expanse of the United States for the American immigrants: these immigrants, however, who at that time came primarily from England, Germany, and Scandinavia, were of kindred blood, and, as is well known, the English language prevailed as the official language by a majority of just one vote over German - thus, from these related elements arose the United States and its generously conceived constitutions.

The subsequent massive waves of immigration, however, came from very different countries, and as a defense against this, the American Union instinctively enacted its immigration laws: these laws deliberately promote the immigration of Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians and, whenever possible, rejected Eastern and Southern Europeans, based on the instinct that if races or peoples of a different kind were to gain the upper hand, the character of the original immigrant population—and thus the very foundation of the United States' existence—would be endangered.

Nevertheless, a major racial problem still emerging for the U.S, for the 12 million black people who populate North America today are reproducing at a higher rate than whites, and in a few decades, perhaps, these black people will account for 20 to 25 percent of the population; furthermore, over 2 million Jews live in New York, and the yellow race in the West also presents another major problem for history. Germany has never had such strict immigration laws, to its detriment, for when it collapsed in 1918, adventurers from all over the world poured into German cities, and that race from Eastern Europe received a double boost in its population due to mass immigration from Galicia.

If, today, efforts are being made to exploit this racial balance between Germans and Jews—which has already become part of history—for the purpose of waging a concerted campaign against the young Germany, then I believe that what was said earlier about blood and character points to one fact: that the

legislation which has now been enacted did not arise from personal malice, nor even from a hatred falsely attributed to us, but from a fateful necessity.

We believe that if another nation had experienced the outbreak of Jewish racial instincts to the same extent as Germany, it would not have handled the Jewish question with as much restraint as Adolf Hitler's Germany did.

In 1918—that is, at the very moment when the last reserves of spirit had to be mustered for Germany's revival—we witnessed that virtually the entire leadership of the state, society, and culture was in the hands of this foreign race, which, together with the old parties (the Social Democrats, the Democrats, and the Center Party), carried out the suppression of the German race: it was possible for a Jewish foreign minister—Rathenau—to publicly write that if the German Emperor were to prevail, then world history would have lost its meaning; it was possible for a Jewish magazine to portray the soldier—the defender of the German fatherland—as a “professional murderer” without objection, and for a German-language newspaper, once widely read throughout the world, to describe the ideal of heroism as “the stupidest of all ideals”; it was possible for railroad murderers to be spared the death penalty because the entire Jewish press championed these assassins, and it was possible for Jewish convicts with eleven prior convictions to be released following the intervention of high-ranking Jewish politicians, and were even recommended to the authorities as intellectually valuable individual - thus, the entire German conception of justice, as it had been trampled underfoot in the covered-up scandalous trials, was in danger of collapsing, and the German nation had already nearly become a mindless mass, ripe for a communist dictatorship, when the National Socialist movement, with its appeal to German values of character, brought salvation at the last hour.

We note that, while Jews in Germany made up 1% of the population, the proportion of Jewish lawyers in Berlin, for example, was nearly 70%; that in most of Berlin's hospitals, the percentage of Jewish doctors ranged between 60 and 90%; that the major banks were almost all in Jewish hands; that the press in Greater Berlin and Frankfurt was almost exclusively Jewish-run, and that, consequently, the entire life of the nation—both domestically and in foreign policy—was dominated by a foreign race that contradicted German identity in almost every respect, and was utterly incapable of understanding its hardships.

When, in these days, the World Zionist Congress in Prague accuses Germany in its resolution of carrying out religious persecution, we must reject this deliberate falsehood, which was spread for the purpose of whipping up the other nations against young Germany: in Germany, no one has yet been persecuted by National Socialists because of their religious beliefs, though the law against cruelty to animals is being misrepresented by Jews as religious persecution.

We wish to draw the attention of the gentlemen organized in the Zionist movement to the triumph of their central organ in Germany, when victory seemed assured - the *Jüdische Rundschau* in Berlin wrote in 1919, in Issue No. 72:

*“Issues concerning Jewish emigration are to be resolved exclusively in accordance with the interests of the Jewish people... If the people stand behind this slogan, then the Jews also have the power and influence to enforce the demanded solution.”*

This single statement may speak for thousands, for it indicates that the Jewish camp was aware that it exercised near-absolute control over Germany's national interests, and that, in its arrogance, it went so far

as to publicly portray German national interests—in an official central organ of world Jewry right in the heart of Germany—as no longer existing.

Thus, what is taking place in Germany today is therefore not a persecution of the Jews, but the restoration of the most basic justice toward the German people—a parity that goes far beyond what the Jewish community would be entitled to based on numbers alone.

In the most chivalrous manner, the German government has exempted from the percentage quota those Jews who fought for Germany at the front or who lost a son or father in the war, for one cannot demand more from a people who have been tormented and are under severe foreign-policy pressure, unless one wishes them to renounce themselves forever; one can also, however, only strive to restore the old state of affairs if one demands that the German people not be led and governed according to their character or their basic necessities.

We have had to explain to many foreign representatives—who, upon our rejection of this act of self-destruction, sought to accuse us of discriminating against the entire Jewish nation—that those who tolerated or encouraged the discrimination against the German nation through the Versailles Dictate for 14 years have no right to complain about the alleged discrimination against Jewry, which publicly boasted that it no longer recognized any German interests.

Now the serious question arises for all other nations as well: do they in fact have a vital interest in entering into serious conflicts with the new Germany simply because a Jewish minority so desires—a minority that is prepared to assert the sovereignty of all states for its own ends without further ado?

We ask the representatives of the various nations whether it is in their vital interest to contribute to chaos in Europe through a global boycott and the political isolation of the German nation.

Communism, which already dominates one-sixth of the entire globe, would have seized Central Europe as well under the continuing pressure of political and financial demands.

Over six million communist agitators, along with 350 dead and nearly 40,000 wounded from our movement, are proof that the red wave was poised to roll toward the Rhine - thus, we therefore view it not only as a salvation for Germany, but also for all of Europe, that the advance of an idea capable of shattering the world was halted by Germany.

If Europe—which has been saved from the communist threat by the new Germany—were now to respond by seeking to destroy that very same Germany, the rise of the communist tide would inevitably be higher than ever before: viewed objectively, then, the situation is such that any weakening of today's Germany means a strengthening of world communism, and that a collapse of Central Europe also represents the collapse of the entire market for other nations, along with the rise of a festering political threat that could indeed shatter the millennia-old culture of the West.

The German Revolution is therefore conscious of its mission: to not allow the savage destruction of a great, ancient world, and—after purging all toxins and all those alien ideas that threaten this culture—to build a new empire based on the great traditions, in the forms of our time.

It therefore seems to us that a fervent, genuine National Socialist of our time must be a true advocate of peace precisely because of this fundamental attitude: that for him, the blood of his people is the highest and most precious good, the sacrifice of which may be only the last, the very last resort.

A political regime that is not of the same blood as the people—who are ruled solely by the hypnotic power of gold and the press—will never muster this reverence for the people and their blood, and will

therefore, out of self-interest, artificially stir up strife; the call of the new nationalism, then, is that an old era must come to an end, for the fate of millions of people has been gambled away on the world's stock exchanges.

Blood is more than gold; a patch of earth is more than a block of stock; honor is worth more than the highest dividend, the people stand above the sum of all their business dealings: it is not German rationalism that threatens peace, but the speculation of certain cosmopolitan profiteers who see their financial dominance wavering and the other nations awakening from their hypnosis.

We draw the attention of the nations, their leaders, and their youth to the grave tensions among other nations in the Near and Far East, which are becoming increasingly palpable and pose a threat to the world: must not the realization take hold that all people of the white race are bound together by a shared destiny, and that, from a world-historical perspective, Europe must present a united front to the outside world in order to survive the coming times of decision?

Who, as a conscious leader of the European position, would want to take upon themselves the responsibility for the dismemberment of our venerable continent, merely because insatiable lusts for power in certain centers seek to assert themselves outwardly? Even if Germany were to suffer a complete defeat, the era of these European conflicts—provoked by deranged minds in the world's great cities—would serve as the signal for all other nations of the globe to rise up against Europe, causing it to crumble in terrible convulsions, just as ancient Rome once shattered under the blows of its Near Eastern slaves.

All the old ideas—whether of a pseudo-nationalist or universalist nature—sought to impose their single idea as supreme over all others and to subjugate the most diverse races to their own forms; today's rationalism, however, does not seek to force such a “development,” but rather conceives of history as a typological interpretation, and foreign policy, consequently, as a naturally given demarcation of cultural souls and the states that have grown out of them.

We therefore believe that it is precisely in the organic, respect-based separation of these nationalisms—of which I spoke at the outset—that the best guarantee has been provided for the restoration of that mutual respect among nations, which had almost entirely disappeared from the world - incidentally, we also acknowledge the inherent nature of the yellow race and wish for it, within its own living space, the development of a culture corresponding to its racial soul; furthermore, we also reject any attempt to “Europeanize” black people, but rather seek to secure their distinctiveness even amid the dominance of white people, though we reject the preaching of the mixing of opposing races since the laws of nature, which manifest themselves in plant and animal life, are also evident in human beings; and such racial mixing does not give rise to a nation, but only to a chaos of peoples.

Within the white race, with its diverse origins and traditions, we respect the naturally given characteristics of all those who have participated in Western civilization, whether as so-called small peoples or as great states - thus, precisely based on this understanding, National Socialism—in contrast to the neo-capitalist nationalism of the 19th century—does not seek the oppression of other peoples, but also rejects the violation of German identity by foreign nations, states, and private interests.

In its reawakening, the German nation demands the right to equality—already enshrined in documents and solemnly promised—and expects the repeal of certain articles of the Treaty of Versailles that discriminate against us, because it believes that the pacification of the German nation will also bring a wave of genuine, universal peace throughout the world.

The days in Nuremberg are to serve as a milestone marking the disciplined resolve of this German revival, in order to give it the opportunity to take shape internally; in consequence then, even if disapproving voices and hostile remarks from abroad continue to reach us for a long time to come, we can say only one thing: that amid the gravest humiliations, amid terrible pressure from foreign policy and a life-threatening internal political disintegration, the German nation has not perished like so many peoples of the past, but is experiencing right now the mystery of its greatest rebirth.

Under Adolf Hitler's leadership, the present generation has overcome the religious conflicts that cast a shadow over centuries of bloodshed; it has overcome a thousand years of particularism; it has crushed the foreign Marxist idea of class struggle, and—as the fulfillment of a centuries-old yearning—it has established the united Reich of the Germans, with the firm resolve to preserve its political independence, but also with the firm resolve to recognize every other genuine way of life.

We acknowledge that it may have taken a great and difficult destiny to comprehend the roots of German vitality, but today, this experience surges through the hearts of well over 70 million Germans like a mighty river, uniting them in the deepest commitment to a great German Reich of national honor and the strictest social justice—as the guarantor of true peace and the patron of the culture of the white race on this globe.

## Interview Between Jules Sauerwein<sup>102</sup> and Alfred Rosenberg

From the *Paris Soir*., September 11th, 1933

One of the best-known figures among the National Socialist leadership is Alfred Rosenberg: his career took off rapidly, and his success as a journalist and theorist has been repeatedly confirmed over the course of eight years.

Located right next to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Wilhelmstraße, Alfred Rosenberg heads the party's foreign policy office; his influence on Germany's active politics is neither direct nor official, yet it is nonetheless significant, because the party already constitutes 80 percent of the government and holds 100 percent of public power.

I paid him a visit and spoke with him about the range of issues that emerged in the speeches at Nuremberg, including his own: he is still a young man, tall and blond, and there is a kind of calm in his manner that recalls the Baltic region where he was born, and a Baltic accent in his speech.

During the war, he pursued his studies in Moscow, just as the Bolsheviki were advancing on the two capitals; he then found a way to reach Germany, which he had always regarded as his homeland, and in Munich found himself in the midst of the full-blown dictatorship of the Munich Soviet government: having come from Russia, he had the opportunity and the courage to explain the true situation in Russia to the revolutionaries in his speeches.

From there, it is well known that the Eisner government came to a very swift end, and Rosenberg now found himself, quite naturally, in contact with National Socialist elements who were beginning to gather in secret; from here he became acquainted with Hitler, and was one of the founders in 1921 of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which was at that time a very small publication, but today is now one of the most widely read newspapers in Germany.

I knew that I was facing the author who had published *The Future Path of German Foreign Policy*, in which one can read significant passages about what the author calls "the rule of the race": his central thesis in this book was that Germany must gain territory to the East, that the powers most likely to view this expansion with suspicion would be France and Poland, and that the two powers for which this policy is of no consequence would be England and Italy.

One can expect a prudent mind to adapt once the impracticality of a certain policy has become evident, but ultimately, I did not wish to pose an interjection to Mr. Rosenberg regarding what he had written in the past, but rather regarding what he had publicly proclaimed in Nuremberg.

*"Does the theory of race and the law that governs heroic men also have consequences for foreign policy?"*

That is the question I posed to the man who, along with the Führer, is the party's most orthodox representative; after a moment's thought, Mr. Rosenberg gave me the following answer:

*"The party's writings and speeches develop racial doctrine with the aim of providing an account of the essential elements of the German nation, both its strengths and its weaknesses: character and heredity, on*

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<sup>102</sup> Sauerwein was a prominent French journalist and translator who also interviewed figures such as Mussolini, FDR, and Emperors Hirohito and Puyi. - The Translator

*the one hand, and blood, on the other, are the two elements that, in our conviction, are most closely linked.*

*These insights and the conclusions we draw from them are, by their very nature, the foundations of our domestic policy, but they have nothing to do with any intentions or measures whose purpose might be to interfere in the political life of other states: when we speak of boldness and heroism, we do not mean military strength, but solely the sacred selflessness in serving the German people in all areas, as the Führer explained at the Nuremberg Congress; his speech was not tailored to the Reich's foreign policy. Our Congress itself was not a military parade, but was a joyful reunion with the new leadership and the new doctrine that guides Germany."*

*"But the crowds of young people seem to be subject to military discipline?"*

*"It is very obvious that such a mass gathering would not be possible at all without strict discipline: it is necessary because it explains to you the secret of this revolution, which has been so bloodless. The outrage in Germany over the disintegration of the state, the judiciary, and cultural life was so great that, without our discipline, more—understandable, but nonetheless regrettable—measures would have been taken.*

*Just as people have misjudged the political side of the National Socialist movement, they equally ignore its social side: until now, a social revolution has always been understood solely as the outbreak of wild turmoil and the gravest acts of violence, but now people stand dumbfounded before the fact that a social revolution is taking place in Germany without the accompanying phenomena that are otherwise customary in world history.*

*The National Socialist state is tackling unemployment with different means, because the methods employed thus far have proven to be obsolete and completely fruitless: the fact that, despite a difficult foreign trade situation, it has been able to reintegrate over two million people into the workforce is the first concrete proof that a strong sense of confidence is alive in Germany, and that all available resources have been mobilized here to create jobs and provide sustenance.*

*The Reich Chancellor has repeatedly stated that overcoming unemployment is the most serious political problem, and that all efforts must be devoted to solving this problem; however, unemployment can only be overcome by deploying large groups of people to carry out very specific major tasks, such as land reclamation, etc, and therefore, approaches are needed here that differ greatly from earlier individual attempts: we place great emphasis on clarifying these issues because we have seen how serious misunderstandings arise abroad precisely because of them, because other countries operate according to different ways of thinking and are therefore unable to follow National Socialist methods.*

*Germany's revolution was a revolution of social peace against a state of affairs that threatened to tear the entire nation apart in class struggles; it was an uprising of character against a moral decline in all areas of German life, and it was the restoration of an authoritarian form of government, which corresponds to the German character and has proven to be appropriate for the German people: we believe that if foreign countries were to send as many of their representatives as possible to visit Germany, any unbiased observer would gain the impression I have attempted to briefly describe above.*

*Unlike some other states, Germany has no intention of closing itself off to genuine evaluation, but on the contrary, it wishes for its methods and way of life to be scrutinized by impartial observers.*

*We believe that if the world allows Germany to resolve the aforementioned social problems in peace, the nations will at the same time find ways to resolve similarly pressing issues in other countries, and thus contribute to overcoming the terrible scourge of unemployment - thus, in this earnest effort to overcome the damage of the past, we also believe we are laying the groundwork for mutual respect for the work of others, in order to move closer to the true peace desired by all honest Europeans."*

## On Germany's Global Prestige

**This speech was delivered on October 30th, 1933, at the Berlin Sportpalast on the occasion of Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations and the upcoming Reichstag elections.**

The internal political struggle in Germany is over, and what is still unfolding in Germany are the final convulsions of a passing era, the last desperate attempts to once again defend the positions of power held by the ideas of the past century - these, however, are futile attempts.

Little by little, all our opponents will come to realize that this year has marked a turning point in history that will shape the course of centuries to come, and that National Socialism will never again relinquish the position it has secured.

The first 14-year phase lies behind us, in which, during these years—which are brief compared to the spans of time in the life of nations—a tremendous upheaval has taken place in Germany; now, following this great internal struggle, a second great struggle is beginning, for just as we had to fight our way through domestic politics against Social Democracy, Liberalism, and their followers, so too must an equally tenacious struggle for Germany's standing and for Germany's honor in the world now begin. If an old regime had appeared before the people in a situation similar to today's, the representatives of the prewar era—as well as those of the November System—would have declared, with a smile on their faces despite the gravity of the situation, that there was no cause for concern: it was the style of the past era to cover up serious situations from the nation as much as possible, and that is why the representatives of days gone by had to witness an entire nation, torn from its heights, ultimately collapse.

The style of the National Socialist will is different here as well: we are not a dictatorship, a tyranny of a small caste, but have been accustomed for 14 years to striving for the nation, and this rule will not be broken today either; that is why we have repeatedly stated in recent weeks that we have no reason to view today's world events in a rosy light, but that we are all obligated to grasp the grave seriousness of the global political situation, and to take stock not only of those powers and forces that seek time and again to diminish Germany's standing, but also to take stock of those trends that may already be making themselves felt in a world that is growing ever smaller.

We must begin any discussion of the international political situation with a historical observation, namely the fact that when Adolf Hitler's government took office, nothing more had happened than the arrest of the most prominent Communist leaders and the suppression of a Communist movement that was preparing to plunge all of Germany into bloody chaos; the strange response to this act, however, was not a united front on the part of the communists of England, France, and the United States, but rather, it was world Jewry that responded to the suppression of communism in Germany.

Two days after Adolf Hitler became Reich Chancellor, a Jew wrote in a Washington daily newspaper that if the new Chancellor were to be shot by a political opponent, very few people would mourn his death: it was possible for this open call for the assassination of the German Chancellor to be published with impunity, and as a result, the attempt to create such an atmosphere conducive to murder spread to all other countries, and even to Germany itself; additionally, in the first weeks of the Hitler government, it had become fashionable to compare Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler to the antisemitic royal advisor Haman of the Old Testament, noting that a similar attempt to overcome Jewish rule would have ended in the death of the statesman in question.

The activities of world Jewry were then combined with a smear campaign against emigrants - thus, as we note these initial developments since the new government took office, we hope that the other nations will perhaps one day take stock of the broader context of this peculiar phenomenon, which is the intertwined activities of communism and Jewry; it would be extraordinarily valuable for assessing their own domestic political situations.

The atrocities against emigrants, which were now linked to this policy, were the result of 50,000 people emigrating from Germany: I, however, believe that the fact that 50,000 people were able to leave Germany without hindrance in the first few months does not speak against Germany, but only against the emigrants.

The rest of the world has now been able to see for itself how things have been in Germany over the past 14 years, and it has now also been able to look squarely at some of these “fruits” of international politics - thus, I believe that resistance to them is becoming increasingly pronounced from month to month in all nations that have remained healthy; meanwhile, after eight months of these emigrants’ activities, the German nation is not convinced today that conditions in Germany were appalling, but rather that it would have been prudent to arrest these gentlemen in the very first days and never let them out again.

What Germany did later—by imprisoning the communist and other leaders of a doomsday movement—was an act of the most basic self-preservation against the dregs of the world’s cities: there are approximately 800 communist leaders in a German concentration camp, and efforts have been made to investigate these men’s pasts; it has been found that their prior convictions amount, on average, to four years in prison or four years in a penitentiary.

It is essential that society finally be protected from this accumulation of the sick and wicked from past decades, and that criminals no longer be confused with political leaders.

Although in our consciousness the German Revolution was a revolution of decent people, a concerted smear campaign throughout the world is now attempting to portray this very same healthy German people as a perverse outcast: even the images from Great War, in which Germans are depicted as gorillas, are already reappearing in some foreign newspapers today, and it is possible that Germans will once again be referred to as Huns.

The old instincts of hatred from the years 1914 to 1918 are being deliberately stirred up once more, and this is happening within the framework of a so-called “cultural world”: such vile drawings would never have been possible in Germany, not even under the old regime! These attacks, which Germany must endure, actually go beyond the bounds of any serious political opposition, and stem simply from base instincts of hatred.

We also know very well, however, that they are also linked to real geopolitical conflicts, and that there are some politicians, who may have held back in the past, who are now pursuing a certain course in their foreign policy that clearly amounts to an attempt to isolate Germany on the world stage: you have seen how in recent weeks, for example, two French politicians flew to Moscow, which was Pierre Cot, the French Minister of Aviation, and former Prime Minister Hernot.

I probably don’t need to explain what these two gentlemen were seeking in Moscow or what kind of proposals they must have made there - it is telling, however, that Mr. Herriot, upon returning from Moscow, declared in a speech that “There is no famine in Russia.”

We must put this blatant pandering into the proper perspective, as we, too, have news from Russia that is not merely theoretical, but is based on reports from people who have traveled the length and breadth of Russia, by train and by car.

In recent months, these experts on Russia have told us things that are truly horrifying: they drove through Russian villages where starving figures were huddled, people who could no longer eat at all because they were already utterly exhausted; they drove through villages that were deserted, got out of their cars, and found people who had starved to death in houses on both sides of the road; they drove past Russian fields and had to get out to see whether more wheat or weeds were growing on that fertile soil.

They all unanimously expressed the view that the coming winter will cost Russia at least 10 to 12 million deaths from starvation: this is a truer picture of the East than the one Herriot shows us.

I also believe that these things will gradually become known to other peoples, and will gradually create an awareness there that Adolf Hitler has saved not only Germany at the eleventh hour, but also all of Europe and its two-thousand-year-old civilization.

In 1918 and 1919, the Third International had every reason to believe that the time for the world revolution had now arrived, for it saw nations collapsing and starving, desperate masses numbering in the millions: the Soviet republics in Bavaria and Hungary showed us where Europe's path would have led had this wave continued to roll forward.

But this all came to a halt in Central Europe, and it also came to a halt when the Red Army marched on Poland and was ultimately forced to retreat before Warsaw; then the Third International turned its gaze eastward, as China became a new hotbed of unrest.

Millions were poured into it, and thousands of Chinese agitators were trained; there, too, in China, it seemed as though the fruits were about to ripen, until the hand of a powerful state—Japan—intervened and brought the wave to a halt there as well.

Now the Third International sought new ground everywhere for its teachings, and its gaze turned once more to Central Europe: here, then, the revelations we witnessed in recent months showed how deeply the poison had already taken root in Germany, and how necessary the German revolution had become.

But in January and February of this year, the Third International has suffered the heaviest blow of its existence, and it will never recover from this blow: it will not recover because we did not crush the Marxist movement with the Reichswehr and the police, but rather, from the very first day of our struggle, we were aware that a movement as vast as Marxism can only be overcome if its worldview can be countered, point by point, with another worldview; we had to demonstrate that it is possible to show logically and through real-life evidence that the Marxist movement does not represent a salvation for the nation—nor even a salvation for part of the nation—but must bring about the complete collapse for all.

We have explained over these 14 years how it is absurd to preach class struggle, because it is impossible to call one part of a body to revolt against another, for this can lead to no recovery, but only to destruction; we have explained how it is absurd to combine, of all things, a hate-filled class struggle with outward pacifism, for one of the two must be a lie; we have explained how deception of international solidarity exists only as a mirage, but not as a real, politically exploitable force.

This solidarity was shattered in 1914, was shattered even further at Versailles, and it will be shattered again when a British Minister of Labor is ultimately forced to subjugate 300 million so-called Indian proletarians in order to provide bread for the British worker, and wherever the iron laws of international relations make themselves felt: that is why we have declared from the very first day that even in the interest of the working class, there is only one form of solidarity, and that is the solidarity of all Germans across the globe.

No one is more bound to the land than the worker, the peasant, and the craftsman - thus, the “Internationals” throughout history have been nothing but charlatans and jugglers.

Finally, we have repeatedly pointed out the fourth poison afflicting the body of the nation and the German soul, as Marxism seized upon a casual remark by Proudhon—“Property is theft”: this phrase has become the gospel of many millions.

We understand that the old capitalist concept of property had to be challenged, for after all, a situation had arisen in the world and in Germany where an individual’s property was regarded as sacrosanct, without any concept of duty being linked to this concept of property; Marxism, however, began its critique of society from the wrong end, and was therefore bound to bring about unhealthy conditions.

We were ultimately confronted with the fact that it was not that property had been theft over the course of the last fourteen years, but rather the opposite: that the greatest acts of theft had been turned into legitimate property, for no one has been as greedy for possessions and property over these 14 years as the Social Democratic leaders—unfortunately, always only for the property of others.

When we look back on these struggles and consider all the repeatedly stated and well-founded arguments, we understand why we can now have the firm conviction that the entire people have become inwardly healthy, and are today virtually immune to the global communist threat - that does not, however, prevent us from stating the following:

We are ready at any time to maintain perfectly proper relations with Soviet Russia, because we naturally do not wish to reevaluate a worldview in terms of foreign policy and international relations, and we can calmly wait and see how Moscow overcomes this blow of fate and begins to adjust to the realities of politics: as I said, we ourselves are immune, and can already observe communist activities in other countries with far greater composure than other nations, which are still far from being cured of this disease.

This is roughly the situation we face in the West and the East if we wish to seriously examine the forces currently working against Germany, but there are still other things at work that we can all only view with pain: these are the sufferings that our Germans abroad must endure.

What we hear today about what is happening in Czechoslovakia is also what we hear daily from Poland: arrests, silencing, economic strangulation, and literal persecution of our fellow Germans; however, unlike under the previous regime, we now feel these sufferings of Germans living abroad as our own, and we want to declare throughout Germany that the pain felt by Germans living abroad resonates more deeply and seriously within us today than it did in the past.

In this context, then, we also wish to make a statement regarding international law:

In June 1919, the Polish state was recognized internationally, and this recognition was preceded by a document—which remains binding to this day—that the chairman of the Peace Conference, Clemenceau, addressed to the then Polish Prime Minister: this letter stated that the Polish state would be recognized, but only on the condition that minority rights be respected, and it was even stated that these rights must be upheld, regardless of the regime in power; if there were any fear that this might not be the case, even stricter measures would have to be considered.

The recognition of German minority rights is thus at the same time the founding document of the Polish state, the document upon which the recognition of that state was contingent - however, in the years that followed, numerous instances of persecution occurred, particularly during the Sejm elections in the fall of

1930, and as a result, under pressure from us, even the former government lodged a complaint with the League of Nations, and the League determined that minority rights had been violated by certain authorities in Poland.

If this trend continues, if the violations multiply, and if it is determined that even the authorities are complicit, then under certain circumstances a political historical narrative and a political opinion might emerge that, by violating minority rights, Poland has simultaneously violated the very document that constitutes the prerequisite for its recognition under international law.

Incidentally, it is now curious that, of all people, the representatives of the states that are taking such action against the German minorities are also advocating in Geneva for an expansion of minority rights, and also wish to include the Jews in Germany: we must note, however, that the Jewish community in Germany has always rejected the notion of constituting a national minority, as it has been repeatedly emphasized by them that they are merely German citizens of the Jewish faith.

The hostile attitude of the states surrounding Germany is serious, yet it has a positive side: namely, it has finally swept away those false sympathies that have repeatedly given rise to new illusions in Germany. These sympathies were expressed for 14 years, and it was claimed that this or that democracy harbored great affection for the young, new Germany and was prepared to accommodate it in every area: we have heard these siren songs for 14 years, but nowhere, in any area, have any significant actions followed. Now we—and every new national government—must expect these sympathies to vanish, for these were not expressions of sympathy for the German people, but only for Germany's enemies within Germany itself.

Now an even greater challenge faces all 65 million Germans, for although we have kept our composure for 14 years, the National Socialist movement has endured sacrifice after sacrifice: hundreds of thousands have lost their jobs and their livelihoods; millions have grown gray in the midst of this struggle, and many, many of us have given our lives.

This, however, has not caused us to soften; rather, we have waged the struggle with ever greater tenacity and ever greater resolve.

I believe I can say one thing today: if we have mustered so much energy to overthrow an opposing system, then we will also muster the courage and energy to secure Germany's respect in the world, for what we are defending today is not a temporary state of affairs, but our destiny, our very existence, and the destiny of all future generations.

Our nerves have been put to a severe test in recent weeks, for what took place at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva was a concerted attack on the vitality, self-confidence, and self-assurance of young Germany.

The League of Nations' Disarmament Commission has been at work since 1925, and the Disarmament Conference itself has been in session for a few years now, seeking to clarify what had been worked out back then, even at Versailles: the strange thing, however, was that right from the start of the conference, all these gentlemen did not speak of disarmament or of their obligation to it, but on the very first day confronted Germany with the demand to begin monitoring German civil aviation.

For weeks, this topic was discussed, but not the actual issue—disarmament.

Then, once this rhetoric about the control of civil aviation had run its course, the gentlemen immediately came up with new slogans, and a demand was made to now change the German military system: it was believed that Germany would say “no” to this immediately, for the gentlemen who had imposed this

military system on Germany in 1919 now suddenly wanted to introduce an entirely new one overnight. But in this instance, they were met not with outright rejection, but with a willingness to examine this issue in all seriousness with a view to achieving genuine world peace: this disappointed those gentlemen, and they immediately began searching for new slogans.

You know how, in recent months, the old idea of military control was suddenly hyped up and hurled out into the world with incredible propaganda, all with the single aim of wearing us down week by week: by presenting us with ever-new demands, it was hoped that Germany would then be forced to say no, for as soon as that occurred, they then intended to use that “no” to point a thousand fingers at us, claiming that Germany wanted to rearm, and was thereby forcing the others to do the same - then, on October 14th, Germany’s withdrawal from the League of Nations threw a major wrench into their plans.

Germany waited until the very last moment, but when British Foreign Minister Simon delivered his speech—in which he no longer wished to grant us equal negotiating terms, but instead spoke of a “must”, and simply sought to extend his own plan, the plan of his government and of Prime Minister Macdonald, by a further two years—it had become time for Germany to pull its head out of the noose: this has now created a new situation in world politics, one in which the West can no longer point the finger at us; instead, the world’s criticism is now directed at the stance of the others.

When it is declared in some parliaments that they can no longer agree to a revision of the peace treaties because a new Germany—a National Socialist Germany with a military spirit—has emerged, we must counter that not a single word in any of these treaties mentions what system must prevail in Germany to justify a revision: this is an attempt to circumvent obligations under international law—an attempt unworthy of those great nations in whose parliaments these words were spoken!

After all, the issue in recent months has not been that Germany has announced revisions, but rather that Germany is merely demanding that the other parties fulfill their treaty obligations - thus, if the other parties refuse to fulfill their treaty obligations, then they have begun to revise their own treaties and have no moral right to make any further demands on Germany.

We note with satisfaction that, across the Channel, a sentiment has taken hold among all fair-minded Britons that their delegation’s failure to speak out in Geneva was not in keeping with the true, decent British instinct; we also note with satisfaction that the only surviving architect of the Treaty of Versailles, Lloyd George, has declared that what Germany did, it had to do, and what the others did was a breach of trust, and we welcome the fact that the Bishop of Gloucester has stated that the Allied Powers were not fair to Germany.

We know what these words mean in England, and we hope that they will find an echo everywhere among a new generation that is weary of continuing, even today, the subterfuges of a belated prewar diplomacy.

A whole world lies between 1914 and today—a collapse of states and ideologies; we therefore do not believe that people who grew up in the mindset of the prewar era are still capable, in today’s diplomacy, of mustering the momentum necessary to understand this new world, but rather, we fear that such methods could once again lead Europe into a catastrophic abyss.

We hope that a new generation will emerge that looks at the new era of the 20th century in the face with a sense of duty, and will one day muster the strength to overcome those outdated methods through an honest and free exchange of views among decent people of all nations.

What is taking place in Germany is not something that could be called resounding and ostentatious militarism.

If our celebrations are held against us, we have the following to say: since 1914, Germany has been fighting literally every day for its very existence, and Germany has endured 14 years of humiliation unlike any other nation has experienced in centuries - thus, when this nation finally commemorates the day of its rebirth, it has more of a right to celebrate than all the others combined.

It is precisely because these are not ostentatious celebrations—because a great upheaval has taken place in Germany—that these celebrations are symbolic acts: if May 1st restored the honor of the German worker, if on this day the German manual laborer was torn from decades of intellectual oppression and reintegrated into the nation, and the nation was made aware of him as an equal member, then that should be a symbol that all German workers will never forget throughout their lives, and that they should pass on to their children and grandchildren; if October 1st, too, was the day of the German peasant, the day of the German peasant's liberation, then this day, too, had its deepest inner justification, for on this day, all the battalions of peasant lineages from past centuries marched before our mind's eye.

And finally, there is the Day of German Art—the symbolic day of Germany regaining its cultural health; the others do not have the right to celebrate such festivals, because they have not yet resolved these issues at all.

The rhetoric about the advance of militarism, about threatened security, and the fear of an invasion by Germany now takes on a different meaning - of course, the French generals do not harbor a genuine fear of a German military invasion, for if they were to say that today, they would be passing judgment on their brave people, a judgment that even we ourselves would not endorse: we believe that the fear is of an entirely different nature.

There are 27 million unemployed people throughout the world, and thus, all nations that are threatened by this scourge have made attempts to bring it under control; however, regardless of whether Democrats, Labor Party members, or Conservatives were in power in the various countries, they have failed to master this problem.

But now a new Germany is rising and embarking on an unprecedentedly vigorous struggle against unemployment, which had also brought Germany to the brink of the abyss: now it so happens that, in the initial surge, over 2 million of our fellow citizens can be reintegrated into the economic process, that a massive winter relief effort has begun, and that the entire nation is donating and making sacrifices to at least spare those still crushed by fate from the most bitter misery; the world continues to hear that a new wave of action against unemployment will begin early next year.

And so, some gentlemen abroad fear that this attempt in Germany might succeed, and they fear that a reawakened, sound common sense in France, England, or America might lead people to say: if this reviled and vilified National Socialist regime can overcome unemployment, then it must be better than our systems.

Many parliamentarians in other countries have grown old, fat, and weary, and they are too lazy to truly grapple with the problems of our time: until now, they have eked out their political existence through a system of unscrupulous electoral methods, which have also made it practically impossible for them to take decisive action against the ills in their own countries.

Yet another group of people also shares their fear, and that is the arms industry: the arms industry, for example, must instill an artificial sense of fear in the French people on a daily basis, for it knows just as

well as we do that the French peasant and citizen are just as unwilling to wage war as the German peasant and the German citizen.

The French peasant wants to till his homeland's soil just as his ancestors have done for centuries, and the French citizen thinks just as much about his pension today as he did in past decades - but in order to squeeze out of this generation—which is, in itself, unwilling to go to war—the loans necessary to guarantee the arms industry's profits, the press and parliamentarians subservient to this industry must instill a sense of artificial fear in the French people day after day, so that, driven by this fear, they will once again elect the old parliamentarians and approve the war loans, so that the heavy arms industry can secure its contracts.

These are the fears that are, in reality, alive among other peoples; there is no real fear of the small German Imperial Army.

Alongside these factors, however, deeper, genuine misunderstandings also play a role, despite many sincere efforts.

I would like to take Great Britain as an example: England is an island surrounded by the sea, and every Briton knows that no enemy has set foot on its soil for centuries; this long-standing sense of security has given the British people a great inner sense of safety, along with the opportunity to continually expand its so-called individual freedom—even, for example, to take freedom of the press to the point of the impossible.

Out of this sense of complacent carelessness, the Briton—without any ill will—judges events in Germany differently than they really are: he does not understand that the German people must have a different way of life than he does; he does not understand that Germany is surrounded on all sides by mostly hostile neighbors, and he does not understand that German soil has for centuries been the scene of the bloodiest world wars, and that as a result every German feels that he cannot go about his business here alone and on his own, but must stand in a united front - we hope, however, that once the British subject these conditions under which Germany must live to more serious scrutiny, they will recognize this display not as a militaristic demonstration, but as a will to assert oneself—as an awareness of the necessity to remain united amidst foreign peoples.

Once the English gain a deeper understanding of this sentiment, those editorials—which actually look as if they were written by an old governess—will also disappear, and hopefully, these daily lectures that come in a patronizing, schoolmasterly tone on how Germany ought to conduct itself will also cease, for we believe, quite the contrary, that the days are over when foreign nations had to lecture us, and we feel we can say with pride that Germany, under a heavy burden and severe foreign-policy pressure, has undergone a development for which other nations may still need 40 to 50 years.

This is by no means arrogance, for we can add that even Germany itself, had it not been under such intense pressure, would probably have needed much more time - and yet, as it was, it had to try out new methods year after year in order to become resilient in the face of these threats, and ultimately, it has come to pass that, of all those who have ever taught in Germany, Adolf Hitler alone was right.

Germany has not “returned to the Middle Ages”, for we know better than anyone else that the forms of bygone eras have faded away and will never return; we also know, however, that when a people can no longer find a connection to the great figures of the past, that people has not only lost its history and its present, but is also incapable of shaping a future.

Above all, we have been granted the experience of seeing Germany rediscover, in its most modern form, the ancient law of its existence in the structure of its political and social life: it has returned to the ancient Germanic principle of the duke and his retinue.

If we skim today through the old constitutions of those orders that colonized the German East, we will find a precise correspondence—bordering on the miraculous—between the principles by which the Teutonic Order was once governed and the principles by which the National Socialist movement is governed; these are matters that run deeper than many a superficial politician of today realizes, for it is a return to the primordial laws of our own life, which had been buried and mocked, but are now celebrating their greatest rebirth.

We have no need to spread propaganda about this National Socialist revolution throughout the world, and we also refuse to initiate such propaganda, for we recognize the traditions of all other peoples, and we know that only from obeying the laws inherent in each nation can the upheaval take place in a form appropriate to that nation; however, even though we reject the practice of National Socialist propaganda, we nevertheless know that other peoples today face problems that we have already solved, and that other peoples must grapple with these problems, which will break them if they do not take up the struggle against them.

The fundamental problem in politics is the conflict between the Marxist-Communist world movement and the concept of national identity: these concepts and ideas are being contested everywhere today.

In this context, we must make an interesting observation: we are already being accused today of causing the Marxist movement in various countries to become increasingly radical, as they also say that the National Socialists are to blame for the fact that even our peaceful Social Democrats are now getting angry - but are we supposed to let communism eat us alive so that the others can enjoy their bourgeois peace?

It is precisely because some Marxists in other countries are becoming more radical that the existing problem is finally becoming visible to those who remain blind to it - thus, this ferment in the world can be observed everywhere, for not only are the Marxists becoming more radical, but nationalist groups in every country are also showing a palpable vitality.

In the Netherlands, there are already five Fascist parties; in Switzerland, there is a National Front—antisemitic and anti-Marxist—as well as National Socialist Swiss citizens, and in western French-speaking Switzerland, there is also an antisemitic movement to which a Fascist movement has recently been added: one must imagine what this means in a country like Switzerland, and then realize that a similar ferment is sweeping through all nations.

A new generation is coming of age that simply no longer wants the past, but is instead searching for new forms for the 20th century - thus, a turning point in world history has occurred in Germany and everywhere else, and many nations that still revile us today secretly envy the German nation for having found its leader.

The German nation has proven itself worthy of this great good fortune, for Adolf Hitler is welcomed today in every German city and village in a way that no king or emperor has ever been greeted by the German nation - thus, amid the humiliation of these days, the German nation feels more deeply than anyone else that we stand not merely at the turn of a century, but at the turn of a millennium; that all political movements of recent times have outlived their usefulness, and that entirely new forms must be found to resolve the issues of our time.

Political unification in Germany has developed with remarkable speed, and structures that many believed could never, ever be overthrown have collapsed into themselves as if they had never existed; parallel to this is the establishment of a social pillar intended to support the future German state, as all the various trade unions—these hundreds of associations—have vanished, and people from all walks of life are now coming together to give shape to the new social ideal.

It is understandable that the new German state apparatus still grinds in some corners and nooks, especially since some people—even deliberately—are still throwing sand into its gears; there is no doubt, however, that a great determination is at work here, one that extends uniformly to all areas of life.

Following political unification and the establishment of social unity, the question of ideology now also confronts us: it would be going too far to claim today that the entire nation is already National Socialist in its thinking and beliefs, but one thing we can already say is that what we call the heroic worldview is already alive today among all German compatriots.

The heroic worldview, however, has nothing to do with aggressive militarism - I would like to try to explain this with an example:

When our comrade Maikowski was murdered by Communists on the night after our Führer seized power, he was buried at the state's expense and laid in state in the cathedral; there, the then-pastor and now-Bishop Hossenfelder spoke, and he spoke a phrase that pierced the entire emotional state of our people like a flash of lightning—a phrase of such revolutionary significance that perhaps neither the listeners nor the speaker himself had fully considered.

He said: “Our comrade Maikowski has been called to join Horst Wessel's struggle.” - now, one must imagine what these words, spoken in a Christian church, signify, for in earlier centuries, people were made to envision the afterlife as a place of the most terrible torments, and hundreds upon hundreds of images bear witness to this sense of dread, to the fear of the tortures that await us in the afterlife: this sense of dread tore apart and shattered the so-called medieval person from within.

A later, superficially humanistic era depicted heaven with little white clouds and angelic figures holding palm branches and playing harps: that was the superficially conceived heaven of respectable bourgeois society.

But now a Christian pastor comes along and professes a heroic vision of the afterlife as well, for he recognizes that all of life is a struggle—not necessarily a bloody war—but that this struggle is played out in economic life, in artistic life, in every creative endeavor, and that without this inner sense of struggle, there would be no nations or cultures in this world.

While past eras appealed to despondency and eternal fear, the secret of National Socialist success lies in the fact that Hitler called upon the courage of the German people, and through this call for boldness and courage, he gradually drew out the best of the German people - thus, it was only this following that then found the ability to rally the rest around them and initiate the liberation of Germany.

The task that still faces every National Socialist today is to now consolidate this inner transformation within themselves, to preach this transformation to all others, and to radiate that aura of irresistible power that has indeed broken our opponents at their very core.

We must say one thing about this: that they did persecute us, but this persecution lacked grandeur; it did not stem from a strong conviction, and that is why the acts of terror perpetrated by the old system ultimately proved ineffective.

The gentlemen who have now fled harbored a deep-seated sense of inferiority; they all innately felt that they belonged not in a minister's chair, but on the gallows, and this feeling ultimately weakened them, while the opposite feeling led us to victory.

This transformation of character, this commitment to new and yet age-old moral values, was bound up with a worldview that we call racial science—a worldview that is still misunderstood throughout the world today.

This science is not a sermon on racial hatred, but a sermon on respect for the races, for it means nothing more than that everyone must listen reverently to the voice within, so that they may recognize that it is no coincidence that people of different colors and different mindsets live in this world, and that these people create diverse states and diverse cultures.

It is precisely this awareness, combined with an inner respect for oneself, that will also give rise to a chivalrous spirit and respect for every authentic culture—a chivalry that seemed to have all but vanished from the face of the earth in recent decades.

When white people today strive for recognition throughout the world, this is by no means a condemnation of the other races: we understand when the Japanese and Chinese point to their own great culture, and we have no intention—unlike in an arrogant era of the past—of imposing so-called European cultural influence on these great peoples of the East.

We believe that a Japanese emperor would have been right to reject a mixed-race Japanese-white individual as a minister in Japan; in exactly the same way, however, we assert that we cannot have non-Jewish foreign ministers who dare to write: “If the German Emperor had triumphed, world history would have lost its meaning.”

We believe that those states which still oppose this worldview would be well advised to heed it and to examine matters at home in its spirit: the white American, for example, will soon have to face the racial problem whether he wants to or not, and if he were to take up the fight in the coming decades under far worse circumstances, he would surely find that the two million Jews in New York would finance the black army against him.

We believe that even proud Great Britain would be well advised to face this problem head-on, as while when we read in English newspapers that it is indeed terrible to see such arrogance reviving in Germany, I believe—should this view truly take hold in England—that it will shake the very foundations of the British Empire itself, for it is, after all, in this very spirit that the British Empire was founded; there is therefore every reason not to mock the new worldview in Germany with arrogance, but rather to approach it with deep seriousness, for this problem is also a problem for England.

I further believe that the French, too, have ample reason to reexamine their colonial policy, and that they must eventually come to realize the impossibility of black judges presiding over white people in Africa, or of a white woman walking arm in arm with a black man through Paris without attracting attention: we hope that the French, too, will one day remember that the old Paris of Saint Geneviève was a different Paris from today's, and that this problem also touches the very core of French identity; they, too, must bear in mind that, across the Mediterranean, armed Moroccans and black people could become a threat to Europe, just as the Syrian and African slaves once were in Rome.

These are the thoughts that move us, but we believe that other nations, too, have every reason to examine them seriously to see whether there is not something of value in them for them as well.

Another thing taking place in Germany today, in this great struggle, is a new hierarchy of values. People have always fought over what should be considered the highest value, and over the course of many centuries, this highest value has changed: the Middle Ages, for example, were marked by a religious conflict, by the proclamation of a creed as the highest value, until this conflict was replaced by secular, dynastic power struggles.

For decades, Europe was embroiled in various wars waged by dynasties and ruling houses against one another, until, finally, the republican idea emerged and, in the 19th century, gave rise to the class struggle - thus, in the wake of this class struggle, political strife has swept through all nations.

Now, these ideas have also wrestled within our souls, and each and every one of us contains the arena for all these systems of thought, the arena for which the highest value must be fought for.

Some who have sought to understand the essence of National Socialism have said that it is a political power movement: they were right, but that was not enough; others have said that it is the struggle for a new social ideal: they, too, were right, but that, too, was not enough.

If we ask ourselves in the deepest sense: what is the essence of National Socialism?—we must say in return: that it is the struggle for values of character, for the restoration of national honor as the highest value in this world: this is why the 20th-century National Socialist revolution feels so closely connected to the old Prussian spirit, and that is why it is no coincidence for us that this state was founded at the holiest grave of German history, at the tomb of Frederick the Great.

The essence of the First German Reich, the Roman Empire of the German Nation, was a futile effort to revive and continue a late Roman form: the universalist world monarchy - thus, Caesaropapism and Papocaesarianism fought for supremacy for centuries until the Roman Empire collapsed and the Second German Reich emerged, in which many believed they would see their dream come true.

Many looked to Versailles back then, in the days of January 1871, as a sign of great things, but others quickly sensed that this magnificent, powerful, and highly revered Reich lacked a profound ideological foundation; the prophets of that era had recognized this for decades, had spoken out about it, and had suffered as a result, but it ultimately came to pass that this Reich, once created by Bismarck, was merely a playground for global economic ideas, and that the value of this Reich became business itself, so that Walther Rathenau could ultimately say: “The economy is destiny”—that is, profit trumps everything! This Reich, too, has collapsed, along with much that was good, which has also gone with it.

If we wish to describe the essence of the Third Reich, then we must say: that it is the first German nation-state, and that in this great struggle—the struggle to realize the first German state and to uphold the highest values, for which we have fought for 14 years—our entire lives today are staked until their very end.

I believe that this struggle is worth fighting, for it is a prelude to what we call eternal bliss, a struggle we wish to pass on to all future generations - thus, if we remain faithful in this struggle, then in the end we may say that no god can ask more of us.